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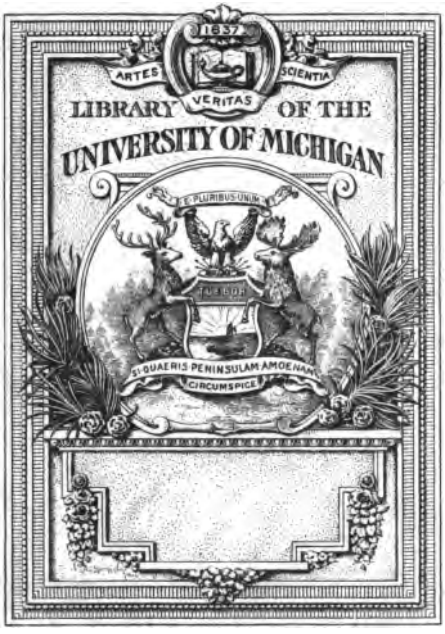
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WILLIAM BURKE

THE AUTHOR OF JUNIUS:

An Essay on his Era.

BY JELINGER COOKSON SYMONS,

BARRISTER AT LAW, ETC.

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"A new knight entered the lists with his visor down, and with unreal devices on his shield, but whose arm was nerved with inborn vigor, and whose lance was poised with most malignant skill. Even now the dark shadow of Junius looms across that dark period of our annals with a grandeur no doubt much enhanced and heightened by the mystery. To solve that mystery has since employed the most patient industry, and aroused the most varied conjectures; and a full statement at least, if not a full solution of it, may justly be required from the historian of that time."—*Lord Mahon.*

I.

INTRODUCTION.

FEW people have heard of William Burke. They only, seem to be aware that he ever existed, who have read the details of the early part of the reign of George III., or who happen to have explored the interesting works in which Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Macknight and others have shed new light on the personal history of Edmund Burke.

Nevertheless William Burke sat in Parliament for Bedwin from the beginning of 1766 till 1774, when he unsuccessfully contested Haslemere. From 1765 until February, 1767, he was Under Secretary of State, attached to General Conway, remaining in office after the fall of the Rockingham Ministry. Ten years later he went to Madras and prosecuted the interests of the Rajah of Tanjore "with great earnestness and some success, both with the British Ministers and the Board of East India Directors." So says Lord Fitzwilliam. (ii. Correspondence, 179.) He was afterwards Deputy Paymaster General to the King's troops in India, accompanying

Lord Cornwallis by whom he seems to have been much beloved. He thus went twice to India. The second time in 1779, returning in 1793. He died in 1798. But of far more historical interest is the fact that to William Burke's unexplained influence with Lord Verney, Edmund Burke owed his first seat in Parliament, that William Burke first introduced him to Lord Rockingham, and that he was the "*fidus Achates*" of the great man through life, and in no slight degree the minister of his fortunes. Though William Burke took his part in the debates, his talents shone in less overt spheres. His political influence was great, but his power as a writer was of the first order.

I think I can prove that he was the author of Junius.

I shall proceed to do so by a series of circumstantial evidence which it has cost me much time and labor to collate, and which I propose to present to the patient judgment of those who still take an interest in the solution of this long-lived enigma, just as I should lay it before a jury. For it has been well remarked by the "Quarterly Review" that "if ever solved, it must be solved not by a mere effort of the intellect, like a mathematical problem, but by the evidence of facts, in much the same manner as questions of guilt or innocence are determined in our Courts of Law."

Mr. Macknight's "Life and Times of Edmund Burke" contains many *morceaux* which disclose the career of William, and rescue it from much of that obscurity about him, which Mr. Macknight says that "all the efforts of biographers and critics have not succeeded in penetrating." That William Burke was a relative of Edmund Burke there seems no reason to disbelieve. He is spoken of frequently by Edmund Burke as his kinsman, and once as his cousin, in the Correspondence edited by the late Lord Fitzwilliam. A furor for the

romance of family mystery can alone account for further incredulity on the relation between these men. They were, from the first arrival of Edmund Burke from Ireland, companions and bosom friends. Burke speaks of him thus to Sir P. Francis when he goes to seek his fortune in India in 1777. "Indemnify me, my dear Sir, as well as you can for his loss, by contributing to the fortune of my friend whom I have tenderly loved, highly valued, *and continually lived with*, in an union not to be expressed, quite since our boyish years." (i. Macknight's Life, p. 178.)

When Edmund writes to him in April, 1782, he uses these remarkable words:—"Oh! my dearest, oldest, best friend; you are far off indeed: may God of his infinite mercy preserve you. Your enemies—your cruel and unprovoked persecutors—are on the ground, suffering the punishment, not of their villany towards you, but of their other crimes which are innumerable." (ii. Correspondence, 484.)

He is thus spoken of by Horace Walpole:—

"William Burke, the cousin of Edmund, wrote with ingenuity and sharpness; and both of them were serviceable to the new administration, by party papers. But William, as an orator, had neither manner, nor talents, and yet wanted little of his cousin's presumption." (Memoirs of George III., ii. 274.)

Sir Denis Le Marchant, the very careful and able editor of these Memoirs, adds in a note that "William shared his brother's fortunes, and lived with him on terms of most intimate friendship. When the prospects of the Whigs seemed to be hopeless, he went to India, and through the help of Mr. Francis, obtained some lucrative offices. He was a person of great accomplishments." Added to this, he perfectly realized the type of a busy, restless man, moving about in each grade of society, and especially in political spheres,

in restless quest of information and material for the use of his party, and especially for the ear of his cousin. There are proofs of this in several of Edmund Burke's private letters to Lord Rockingham, and others, written on the spur of the moment, retailing the news of the day, (certainly never designed for publication,) and derived avowedly from William. Nor was this all. Edmund Burke's younger brother Richard, though never in Parliament, lived with Edmund and William during the greater part of the Junius era. Now Richard was renowned for all that bonhommie, easy wit and humour, which gave then, as now, an *entrée* into every circle in London. Goldsmith thus sketched him:—

> "What spirits were his! what wit, and what whim!
> Now breaking a jest, and now breaking a limb.
> Now wrangling and grumbling, to keep up the ball;
> Now teazing and vexing, yet laughing at all!
> In short, so provoking a devil was Dick,
> That we wish'd him full ten times a day at Old Nick.
> But missing his mirth and agreeable vein,
> As often we wish'd to have Dick back again."

In the letter Richard writes to William, dated January 3rd, 1773, in the Fitzwilliam Correspondence, he details elaborately the *jeux d'esprit* which passed at a dinner at Reynolds's, where Johnson, the Dean of Derry, Garrick, &c., were present. In those times, philosophers and statesmen corruscated far more in the resorts of fast men than now-a-days; and in their cups were easily relieved of secrets by clever inquirers. Thus it is certain that what with the political sources of information directly open to Edmund and to William Burke, and also to Samuel Dyer, who was closely attached to them, and in constant communication as they were, with men in every grade—from third-rate clerks to Ministers in office,—and from aspiring Dukes to their hum-

blest followers out of it—added to Richard Burke's social intimacy with everybody,—far more reached William Burke's ear, and more quickly, than Junius ever told. I much doubt whether any other person was as well informed, or sufficiently so to have written at the time what Junius wrote. Of all the unlikely people to have done so was Lord George Sackville, of whom his great advocate, Mr. Jaques, takes pains to assure us that he "brooded over his wrongs in solitude." Simply premising that William Burke fulfils every one of the conjoint requirements of Dr. Good to sustain the characteristics of Junius,—that he had, from Conway and others, ample means of military information,—aid in legal knowledge from Richard Burke, (a barrister, and afterwards Recorder of Bristol,) without being a lawyer himself,—that he was constantly in the House,—that he was full of Irish penchants and antipathies to Scotchmen,—that he had ample reason to conceal his authorship, and left no descendants to advance their title to the posthumous fame of his achievements—I trust that I have said enough to bespeak the kind attention of the reader to the somewhat lengthy proofs I am bound to array.

Edmund and his wife, his brother Richard, and William, seem always to have lived together, first in Great Queen's Street, and afterwards at Gregories, Burke's place near Beaconsfield: and Mr. Macknight speaks with truth of the ardent family affection with which his relative William, together with his brother and father-in-law "bent reverently towards him and gazed affectionately on him," and of the "ascendancy" Burke exercised over them. (Vol. i. 270.)

In Burke's trips while travelling about England from 1747, when he entered at the Middle Temple, William always accompanied him, and they staid together for some time at Monmouth and many other places, where they appear

to have engaged in literary pursuits together. (i. Correspondence, 24.)

Mr. Macknight, who seems to have picked up more anecdotes about William Burke than any other writer, says that "William had none of Edmund's ability as a parliamentary speaker, though he was not destitute of a certain weight in the House of Commons. He was a good man of business. He had the reputation of writing many keen satires on the political opponents of his friends, and had, undoubtedly, considerable literary talent." Prior also says that "he found himself much better qualified to wield his pen than his tongue." Walpole confirms this in his Memoirs. (Vol. i. p. 275.)

It will be obvious that the close intimacy and identity of political interest, subsisting between Edmund and William, not only interweave the great incidents of the public life of Edmund Burke with the whole tissue of the evidence, but lead to the conclusion that Edmund Burke in all probability aided William in writing Junius. And though I would rather waive than rely on individual testimony, I think this view derives great weight from Dr. Johnson's statement that no person but Burke had displayed such ability for political controversy as was exhibited in these celebrated letters.

Of William Burke's power over the mind of Edmund and of his skill in inoculating the statesman with his own antipathies, Mr. Macknight says:—"It" (a letter written by Edmund Burke to the Ministers in 1780 on behalf of the Rajah of Tanjore) "showed clearly enough that his friend William Burke had already *inspired him with all his own animosities* against the men who held power in Madras."

Goldsmith thus delineates the trio:—

> "Our Burke shall be tongue with a garnish of brains;
> Our Will shall be wild fowl, of excellent flavour,
> Our Dick with his pepper shall heighten the savour."

II.

EDMUND BURKE SUSPECTED OF BEING JUNIUS.

IT appears by Edmund Burke's vindicatory letter* in 1771 to Dr. Markham, then Bishop of Chester, that William introduced Edmund to Dr. Markham as early as 1754, he having been his tutor, and the following passage from that remarkable letter of Edmund Burke to his former friend throws additional light on the early career of his relative.

"My Lord, Mr. William Burke, the first you set to the bar, has had the closest and longest friendship for me; and has pursued it with such nobleness in all respects, as has no example in these times, and would have dignified the best periods of history. Whenever I was in question, he has been not only ready, but earnest even to annihilate himself; and he has not been only earnest, but fortunate in his endeavours in my favor. Looking back to the course of my life, I remember no one considerable benefit in the whole of it, which did not, mediately or immediately derive from him. To him I owe my connection with Lord Rockingham. To him I am indebted for my seat in Parliament. To him it is I must refer all the happiness and all the advantages I

---

* This letter is the most elaborate in the whole of the Correspondence given to the world by Earl Fitzwilliam. It is an answer to a most emphatic remonstrance against the Burkes' attacks on the character of Lord Mansfield and others, founded on the belief that they were the authors of Junius.

received from a long acquaintance with your Lordship. For me he gave up a respectable employment of a thousand pounds a year, with other very fair pretensions. He gave up an employment which he filled with pleasure to himself, with great honor to himself, and with great satisfaction to his principal in office. Indeed, he both held and quitted it with such a well arranged discharge of all his duties, that a strict friendship subsists between him and the principal he left, from that moment even to this, amidst all the rage and confusion of parties. But he resigned it to give an example and an encouragement to me—not to grow fearful and languid in the course to which he had always advised me. To encourage me, he gave his own interest the first stab:—*Pæte, non dolet.* This, my Lord, was true friendship; and if I act an honorable part in life, the first of all benefits, it is in great measure due to him. He loved your Lordship too, and would have died for you—I am thoroughly persuaded he would. He had the most ardent affection for you, and the most unbounded confidence in you. If there was any difference in his regard for you and me, it is that there were certain disparities which made him look up to you with greater reverence."

Not only was Burke suspected of being Junius by his enemies, but equally so by the oldest friends of himself and his cousin. The most signal instance of this fact was the letter to which the above was an answer, and which Dr. Markham addressed to Burke towards the close of 1771, and Burke destroyed, but of the purport of which the draft of his answer contains conclusive evidence. Not only had Dr. Markham been a kind, but he was, according to Burke's own showing, a revered and beloved friend. In 1765 he had written a letter to William Burke in the warmest terms of familiar friendship, speaking *then* with generous indignation of Edmund Burke's enemies, and hoping that the rise of his reputation "would silence malignity or destroy its effects," and rejoicing over the "disgrace of William Burke's opponents." (i. Correspondence, 92.) Junius appears—he assails Lord Mansfield and the King. Burke is suspected:

and Dr. Markham, the tried friend of the family, is induced, clearly without a vestige of personal offence, to write a letter teeming with censure so severe, and "couched in such unmeasured language," that Burke replies to part of it in the following terms, disclosing as they do the gravamen of the charge against him:—

"After giving the testimony of my enemies, as grounds of charge against me, your Lordship comes to their assistance, towards the close of your letter, with a little of your own; and this too for a purpose, which even after all I had read did not a little astonish me. It was in justification of the libellers for having fixed on me as the author of Junius, from a resemblance which your Lordship supposes my house bears to a "hole of adders." My Lord, I am sorry to find that these writers have so able an advocate, which though they stand in need of, I have not at all the charity to wish them. But since these worthy gentlemen are under your Lordship's protection I say not one word against them except that, in this instance, they did not reason logically, nor draw their conclusions in any good form. For, passing that most obliging simile of "the adder's hole" as not in strict argument, I did not "furnish the premises" your Lordship supposes; and if I had, the conclusion of these gentlemen was irregular. For, supposing all your Lordship says was not very greatly mistaken, how does it follow from the *discourses of my friends* that I am the author of Junius as these worthy persons peremptorily assert?"

Burke's defence of William Burke, if it can be so called, is as follows:—

"My Lord, I owe this honest testimony, all I can return, for a friendship of which I can never make myself deserving. As to him my Lord, I am not capable of telling you in what manner he felt your charges. He answers nothing to them; he only bids me tell you that, never being able to suppose himself in a situation of serious controversy with your Lordship, much less as the culprit in a *criminal accusation* for a matter of *state*, brought by *you* upon his *private* conversation, he knows not what to say. He is at your mercy. He really cannot put his pen to paper on this subject, though he has two or three times attempted it."

These remarks are a conclusive proof that in Dr. Markham's judgment (no slight authority) Junius proceeded from the Burkes. That such impression was firmly rooted in his mind is deducible first, from the fact that Dr. Markham not only seems to have used the strongest and most unqualified terms, extending to what Mr. Macknight calls "the extreme limits of episcopal acrimony," but he does so after Burke had had ample opportunity of exonerating himself in a previous interview with the Bishop at Kew Green, in a discourse which Burke reminds the Bishop "spread out into great extent and variety;" and in which he had therefore elaborately vindicated himself. (i. Correspondence,* 270.) It was thus no off hand impression on the mind of Dr. Markham, nor was it short-lived; for he never appears, by the Correspondence, to have written to the Burkes again: and as Edmund Burke in forwarding to him a letter from Dr. Leland more than two years afterwards, apologizes for an apparent want of delicacy in doing so, in terms of studied and ceremonious courtesy, to which no answer seems to have been given, it is probable that the breach was not soon healed. Mr. Macknight strives to show that Dr. Markham was actuated by servility to the King and the desire of promotion. Admitting that possibly to some extent this may have been so; yet though it might account for an estrangement, and for dissuasion and remonstrance, it certainly leaves untouched the sincerity of the Bishop's belief that the Burkes were the authors of the bitterest possible anonymous attacks on public men: nor does it in the least prove that the indignation expressed in this private letter to his old friends, was other than the genuine utterance of

* I have thus, throughout, indicated Lord Fitzwilliam's Edition of Burke's Correspondence, in 4 vols. Rivingtons. 1844.

his deep conviction of its justice. Dr. Markham might certainly have been mistaken: but he was a man of penetration and discernment, and whose integrity was so great that Burke reiterates his esteem and regard for him long after he had been denounced by him. No one had had more intimate means of knowing the opinions, political tendencies, personal antipathies and antecedents of the men he accused, or of testing the probabilities of their authorship of Junius. He is therefore a witness the weight of whose evidence it it impossible to gainsay.

III.

EDMUND BURKE'S DENIALS.

NOR was the suspicion by any means confined to Dr. Markham, among Burke's own friends. The letters in which Charles Townshend begs him to give an explicit denial to the charge are published in the Fitzwilliam edition of the Correspondence. Burke's reply of the 17th October, 1771, to the first of these appeals, was so far short of a positive contradiction that Townshend writes again on November 20th in these terms:—"In your letter to me, you say that you have 'been as ready as you ought to be in disclaiming in the most precise terms, these writings, etc., to me and to all friends.'" * * * "Objections have been stated by one or two persons, to whom I showed your letter to me, that the words do not in themselves contain a direct denial of the fact." * * * "I took the liberty to relate this whole business to your cousin *William Burke who advised me to write to you.*"

It is tolerably plain from this that *William* Burke makes no denial, either for his relative or himself. The answer of Edmund Burke contains a strangely worded reply to the statement repeated in this letter of Townshend, viz. that he had "*never positively* declared in express terms that he was neither directly nor indirectly engaged in the publication of Junius's Letters." Burke says "I now give you my word

and honor that I am not the author of Junius, and that I know not the author of *that paper*, and I do authorize you to say so." This is explicit enough and doubtless true enough as to the authorship; but what is meant by "that paper" when he denies his *knowledge* of the author? No one could call the series of letters then approaching their completion, "a paper." They were not such, in any sense of the word. If applicable at all to any Letters of Junius, it must have referred to that one of them only which Townshend happened to have named in his first letter of inquiry, in which he mentions *the* letter signed Zeno, and calls *it* "that paper." Burke's disclaimer also applies, therefore, alone to it, and of such one letter, taken singly, he might not have *known* of his own knowledge of the authorship. Indeed if his cousin William were the author it is almost certain that one or two of those letters must have been written, dispatched and printed, when Burke was at too great a distance to have seen them beforehand. Nor is it at all likely that William would have given or written to Edmund a formal statement of his authorship.

Burke's answer therefore as to his knowledge of the authorship is very ambiguous and incomplete. At this period, says Mr. Macknight, before Dr. Markham's charge, and before angry suspicions of Burke as the author of Junius had reached their climax, Burke had given the clever refusal to satisfy Sir William Draper's interrogation, or to give him a meeting. When, however, at a subsequent period, as Mr. Macknight informs us, this "suspicion, without increasing the opinion entertained of Burke's powers as a writer, had a most pernicious effect in engendering a distrust of his character for frankness and honesty,"—"exposed him to rude attacks which, without general reprehension, were

frequently made upon him in the House of Commons,"—"and subjected him to the faint defences and feeble vindications of candid friends,"—he must have been powerfully impelled, not merely by motives of a personal kind, but by the higher sense of the responsibilities of public usefulness with which his masterly talents invested him, to escape by positive denial from these damaging imputations. He is not blameable for going to the utmost verge of the limits of literal truth in doing so: his offence was venial, even if he slightly exceeded them. "The belief," Mr. Macknight proceeds to assures us, "that Burke and Junius were the same person, continued during his life, has been encouraged by all his biographers, and cannot be said, in defiance of all argument, (?) to have completely subsided in the present day." It certainly has not; for Peter Burke, Esq. the accomplished Editor of the Peerage and Baronetage, has, in his remarkably able and most interesting life of his great namesake, given many strong reasons in support of his belief that Burke either originated or helped the letters of Junius; and that the likelihood is that they did not emanate from a single writer.* (p. 70, 2nd edition.) Both Sir W. Blackstone and Lord Mansfield, no mean judges of evidence, were of the same opinion.

* See also the Pamphlet entitled, "Junius proved to be Burke. 1826."

IV.

ALLEGED ANTAGONISM OF EDMUND BURKE AND JUNIUS DISPROVED.

ALTHOUGH it is by no means requisite in order to prove that William Burke was Junius that all the political opinions, public sympathies and antipathies of Edmund Burke and Junius should be in exact accordance,—still it may fairly be expected that I should show that there existed no general or material disagreement, especially as my case rests greatly on the close political fellowship and private brotherhood subsisting between the Burkes. This I can do. And I propose first to analyse and test the instances of alleged divergence between the opinions of Junius and the statesman.

The first, and certainly both the boldest and the most remarkable of the statements in behalf of this discrepancy, is that of the Editor of Woodfall's edition (vol. i. p. 101.) He says, first, that Burke could not have written in the style of Junius, which was so precisely the reverse of his own, [of this anon] nor could he have consented *to disparage his own talents* in the manner in which Junius has disparaged them in his letters to the printer of the "Public Advertiser," dated October 5th, 1771." Now the only reference to or mention of Burke in that letter occurs in his illustration of this principle which Junius puts in italics:—"*That we should not gene-*

rally reject the friendship or services of any man, because he differs from us in a particular opinion." He afterwards says, "I will not reject a bill which tends to confine parliamentary privileges within reasonable bounds, though it should be stolen from the house of Cavendish and introduced by Mr. Onslow. The features of the infant are a proof of the descent, and vindicate the noble birth from the baseness of the adoption. I willingly accept of a sarcasm from Colonel Barré, or a simile from Mr. Burke. Even the silent vote of Mr. Calcraft is worth reckoning in a division." And this was said, as the context shows, of men who, independently "of signal instances of unpopular opinion, may well be supposed to have no view but the public good." Therefore whether we take the assertion—"I willingly accept a simile from Mr. Burke," as standing alone or having reference to the context, it is equally untrue that it is intended to "disparage his talents." It does nothing of the kind, and moreover the use of so palpable a mis-statement is a proof of the strait to which the Editor was driven in his desire to find something hostile to Burke in Junius. It is very remarkable that there is no other reference to Burke in the published Letters of Junius; men of far less note are praised or censured, but, be the motive what it might, there is a marked intent to avoid mention of him. This is precisely the course natural for a concealed partisan to take.

See p. 18

The only important subject on which, as we shall see, Edmund Burke and Junius held different views was on triennial Parliaments—a matter purely speculative. Few brothers but would have differed on something more material.

In the series of miscellaneous letters by Junius, there is a report of Edmund Burke's speech at the opening of the session in November, 1767. It is given verbatim in Wood-

fall's Junius, vol. ii. p. 500. Why, if there were no special *liaison*, political or personal, between Burke and Junius, should Burke's speech alone have been thus favored? At that time no regular reports with the speakers' names were allowed to be published; and this of Burke was given under the fiction of being an anonymous speech in a political club, and ostensibly a "mere *jeu d'esprit*." The Editor gives it as a speech of Burke, transmitted by Junius in his own handwriting.

The alleged variance respecting George Grenville will be separately considered.

V.

THE STATE OF PARTIES, 1766-7.

LET us glance at the state of political parties before and during the time that these Letters appeared, and trace the relation they bore to the enmities, sympathies, and interests of the Burkes.

The feeble dynasty of Lord Rockingham had expired. It had neither internal strength nor external support. The nobleman at its head was a man of high honor, respectable parts, and unswerving consistency to Whig principles; but was by no means qualified to wrestle in debate with the skilled leaders of an angry opposition, or, as the event proved, to cope with the cabals of the Court party, or conciliate the affections of a King who tolerated a Whig Ministry only as a temporary evil. General Conway, a brave officer but a timid and irresolute statesman, was selected to lead the Lower House, and appointed joint Secretary of State with the young Duke of Grafton, a man wholly inexperienced in office; fickle, lazy, sensual, and presumptuous. Neither of these men gave power or prestige to the Administration. Respectable Mr. Dowdeswell was the inefficient Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Northington held the Great Seal: but was a man of slight mental ability. The Duke of Newcastle, of the whole Cabinet, alone possessed any official experience. Lord Temple, Grenville, Saville, Towns-

hend, Lord Shelburne and other leading Whigs held aloof from this frail Ministry. The weakness of the leaders gave increased importance to the offices of their Secretaries, and as Edmund Burke was Private Secretary to the Premier in the Upper House, and William Burke Under Secretary to the leader of the Commons, it is manifest how perfect must have been the means which these two men possessed not only of acquainting themselves with the hidden springs of public conduct and the character of each statesman, but how deep must have been their interest in the succeeding phases of Ministries and parties, and the political intrigues of the times.

The secession of the Duke of Grafton in the middle of the last Session during the Rockingham Ministry was the signal of disruption: and was probably designed for the purpose of disbanding them. Now the interests of the Burkes were intimately identified with the Rockingham party. They were bound to its chief by every tie of political affinity and personal gratitude. Not only did Burke adhere to the Marquis on grounds of principle, but he revered him for his virtues and loved him for his generosity; for so liberally had he aided the income which Burke's independent spirit narrowed, that the Marquis, before his death, cancelled bonds which, together with other aid to Burke, must have amounted to £30,000.

The Duke of Grafton's paltry desertion of the Rockinghams was speedily followed by that of Lord Northington, who went to the King and told him the Ministry could not go on. The resignation of the Marquis necessarily ensued, and the King sent for Lord Chatham; who set to work and constructed what Burke afterwards designated as an Administration "so chequered and speckled—a piece of joinery so crossly indented, and whimsically dovetailed—a cabinet so variously inlaid

—such a piece of diversified mosaic—etc., etc., composed of treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on."

Horace Walpole, who had, according to his own showing, been acting throughout, the role of cabinet breaker and busybody in chief, thus depicts the immediate result of his successful machinations against the Rockinghams, with his tool Conway:—

"The Ministerial Whigs, or party of the late Ministers, were enraged. Rockingham was indignant at being displaced for Grafton, and Richmond for Shelburne; and was the more hurt that Mr. Conway suffered this preference. He complained to me of Conway with much anger."

Still less was the love Burke bore to the Ministry which put him out of office, and which it was the mission of Junius to lacerate and degrade. Let us however pursue the history of the party at this eventful juncture. Lord Temple and his brother, George Grenville, owing to the untoward demands and haughty temper of the former, were excluded from the new Administration. It became therefore an object to conciliate them, together with all who sought at once to reconstruct a Rockingham Government and harass their successful enemies in office. The Duke of Grafton, as he had calculated when he left the late Ministry, was among the first of those nominated to replace them. To the treacherous friend, the first fruits of treachery were very naturally offered. No one of the seceders behaved so basely to Lord Rockingham, or so injuriously to the Burkes. No one received castigation so bitter and relentless from Junius. His Grace had added servility to baseness, and offered in abject terms to accept the humblest office.* He was appointed First Lord of

* Massey's History, vol. i. 282.

the Treasury. Lord Camden succeeded Lord Northington, who, as second betrayer of the late Cabinet, received the exalted office of President of the Council. Charles Townshend replaced Mr. Dowdeswell, and Lord Shelburne was made one of the Secretaries of State. Pitt received the Privy Seal, his Earldom, and the post of First Minister. Among his subordinates, and less obnoxious to the Rockingham connection, were Lord North, Barré, a powerful speaker, and James Grenville, a younger brother of Lord Temple.

The conduct of the First Minister was in keeping with his character. To gain strength from the Duke of Bedford, he repelled the advances of the Marquis of Rockingham, and was in turn repelled by the Duke of Bedford. His haughty and contemptuous spirit seems now to have sought its chief vent in affronts to that section of his Ministry who had proved friendly to the Rockingham Cabinet. Increasing attacks of gout and the trials of infirmity aggravated the chronic waywardness of his temper. The patriotic effort of the Marquis of Rockingham to uphold Pitt's authority in the office from which his minions had expelled him, was repaid by repeated insults to the Rockinghams, who had remained in office in compliance with his express wishes, and with the generous consent of their late leader. Among these were General Conway and *William Burke*.

Mr. Massey, in his trustworthy history, says that "no man had been so ill used by Chatham as Lord Rockingham," and that he "personally marked his indignation at the treatment which he had experienced at the hands of Chatham." Horace Walpole, speaking of the conduct which the whole of the Rockingham connection received at the hands of the gouty despot, says that "the wound rankled so deep in Mr. Conway's bosom that he dropped all intercourse with Lord

Chatham, and though he continued to conduct the King's business in the House of Commons, he would neither receive nor pay any deference to the Minister's orders."

If it thus rankled in Mr. Conway's bosom, how much deeper must have been the resentment of the bosom friends of the ex-Minister, whose opening fortunes were crushed by the Premier. The remnant of the Rockinghams were now forced to resign.

William Burke, stung to the quick by these injuries, and disgusted by the feeble inconsistency of Conway, resigned his office in February, 1767, sacrificing a post yielding him a salary of £1000 a year, which he could ill afford to surrender.

Mark the sequel! Two months after—on the 28th of April, 1767—appeared the first known Letter of Junius (under the signature of Poplicola*) in the "Public Advertiser." In that Letter Chatham, though not named, is depicted in the character of a Roman dictator—a distinguished citizen in whom the prudence of the state invested "power sufficient to preserve or to oppress his country," and who proves to be "a man purely and perfectly bad." His conduct, among

* The Quarterly Review, vol. xc. p. 107, forcibly upholds, as does Lord Mahon, the authenticity of all the Letters, under whatever signatures, inserted by Woodfall's Editor in the three volume edition, as being written by Junius. They are doubtless, as there declared, "indisputably genuine," and we agree with the Quarterly Reviewer, that in this faith should all inquiry be conducted. These early letters afford most valuable clues to the truth. Lord Mahon corroborates this view. He says the assertions of the Editors of 1812 will be found "borne out in a most remarkable degree by the letters from the archives at Stowe, in which the writer, who certainly was Junius, *avows in explicit terms not only the authorship of the papers signed Atticus and Lucius but also, as he says, of many more.*"

other delinquencies, is characterized by a "prostrate humility in the closet, but a lordly dictation of terms to the people by whose interest he had been supported, and by whose fortunes he had subsisted."* (Vol. iii. p. 456.)

The wrongs of the Rockinghams are no less avenged than clearly sketched in these stinging charges:—

"The principal nobility, who might disdain to submit to the upstart insolence of a dictator, must be removed from every post of honor and authority; all public employments must be filled with a despicable set of creatures, who, having neither experience nor capacity, nor any weight or respect in their own persons, will necessarily derive all their little busy importance from him."

It will be most convenient now for the linking of the circumstantial evidence by which the case must be proved against William Burke, to take consecutively the events of the day, the private letters of Edmund Burke, and his speeches and pamphlets, as an index to the policy of the Burkes: comparing them closely with the *contemporary labors of Junius*. I believe this has never been done: and hence the failure to discover Junius.

The candid reader, especially if he be somewhat acquainted with the politics of the times, will probably have little difficulty to see the close keeping between the interests of the Rockingham party as aspirants to a restoration to office, and the personal interests of the Burkes, with the line taken by Junius throughout the entire course of his writings.

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* Chatham ceased to hold the Privy Seal in October, 1768.

VI.

OVERTURES TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AND THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM IN 1767.—LORD BUTE.—LORD CHATHAM.—CONWAY.

OVERTURES had been made in the early part of 1767, first to the Duke of Bedford, to join and strengthen the new Government, to the exclusion of the Rockinghams, and these all failing, negotiations followed, through the mediation of Lord Lyttelton and others with Lord Rockingham for a union of his party and the Duke of Bedford with some section of the Chatham and Grafton Administration. It was however soon apparent that Lord Rockingham was offered merely a divided dynasty—and worse still—that his followers were not to be included in the first arrangements, but to fall in as opportunity occurred.

Mr. Massey says, speaking of the autumnal events of 1767, that when Chatham's seclusion became certain, "the Duke of Grafton was obliged again to have recourse to the Whig connection; and after an ineffectual attempt to accommodate the several pretensions of the parties which respectively acknowledged the Duke of Bedford and the Marquis of Rockingham as their chiefs, the alliance of the latter was abandoned, and the three principal members of the Bedford faction—the Lords Gower, Weymouth, and Sandwich—

joined the Administration." Lord North succeeded Charles Townshend, and Lord Hillsborough was the new and third Secretary of the State to the Colonies, this being a new office.

Before this, and about the time when Chatham's abortive negotiation with the Bedfords was afloat, Junius, under another signature, wrote his first authenticated Letter (on April 28th, 1767,) to the "Public Advertiser," denouncing Lord Chatham; with an evident design to destroy his Ministry and demolish his lingering prestige, and with it any power he might have retained to cold-shoulder the Rockingham party a second time. Lord Chatham is therein accused of treacherous designs in suspending the laws by proclamation: by which the writer doubtlessly refers not merely to the embargo on the exportation of corn in 1766, a justifiable measure, but to Lord Camden's audacity (whom he calls an apostate lawyer) in endeavouring as he did to maintain that this order on Council was not only justifiable but legal—a doctrine fraught with peril to constitutional liberty. Chatham is charged, under the allegory of a Roman Dictator, with insolence to the principal nobility and with filling all public employments (that which Mr. William Burke had just vacated among the rest) with "a set of despicable creatures," and with conduct tending to foment discord between the mother country and the Colonies, with dictation to the people, and prostrate humility in the closet," etc., etc.

On the 24th of June following, Junius again attacks Chatham as "below contempt," and as the "stalking horse" of Lord Bute, whom he charges with having "a natural *itch* for doing mischief,"—the exact expression which Burke applies to the Duke of Newcastle in a letter to Lord Rockingham. Junius describes the Ministry as having "come together

by a sort of fortuitous concourse, and who have hitherto done nothing else but jumble and jostle one another, without being able to settle into any one regular or consistent figure:" just as Edmund Burke afterwards spoke of them as "a piece of diversified mosaic,—a tesselated pavement without cement,—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white,—patriots and courtiers, King's friends and republicans."

The overtures made through Lord Lyttelton and others to the Marquis of Rockingham were unhesitatingly refused, and mainly on the ground that even if the difficulty could be overcome which habitually embarrassed every Cabinet of the times, viz. the sinister influence, supposed or real, of the Earl of Bute,* still Lord Rockingham would refuse to take

* I do not accredit the vehement assertion of the day that Lord Bute exercised this paramount influence over the Sovereign, after he ceased to be First Minister in April, 1763. The belief that he retained the whole of his sway without its responsibilities made him indeed the *bête noire* of each successive Ministry, and, in so far, created much of the power they assailed. I believe that Grenville, during his reign, exercised far more actual influence than Bute during his whole life. It is certain, from Burke's own showing, that the Bute influence had lost some of its terrors even during the Ministerial anarchy which preceded the retirement of Chatham in 1768.

The influence under which the King really acted in the earlier years of his reign was more probably that of his mother, than of her reputed paramour. I have, however, strong reason to believe that the King was as self-willed as he was prejudiced. Dr. Cookson, Canon of Windsor, was private tutor to the young Princes, and had the means of a far more intimate knowledge of the personal character of the Sovereign than most of his Ministers, and all his biographers. The King, as well as the Princes, honored Dr. Cookson with friendly intercourse long after his tutorship was over. He was my mother's uncle, and many of the days of my childhood were spent with him at his house, in the Castle. I derived a strong impression from the anecdotes my

office without his friends. The offer, probably made to be refused, was no sooner rejected than the existing Administration, with Chatham nominally at its head, and Grafton mis-managing it during the Premier's utter neglect of his duties, very contentedly resolved to go on in their discordant weakness and dependence on the King. Burke shortly after writes thus to Lord Rockingham, of the negotiation and its failure:—

"If we may judge from appearances, the consequences which have attended it are not very displeasing to your enemies. His Majesty never was in better spirits. He has got a Ministry weak and dependent: and what is better, willing to continue so. They all think they have very handsomely discharged any engagements of honor they might have had to your Lordship; and, to say the truth, seem not very miserable at being rid of you. They are certainly determined to hold with the present garrison, and to make the best agreement they can amongst themselves; for this purpose they are negotiating something with Charles Townshend."

"Lord Bute is seldom a day out of town: I cannot find whether he confers directly and personally with the Ministry, but am told that he does." (Letter of August 1st, 1767.)

In the letter of Edmund Burke to the Marquis of Rockingham, on the 1st of August, 1767, he says that he has had a conversation with Conway on the overtures made at that juncture to the Rockingham party, and adds, "I never knew

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father and mother related to me in after years, that the King was a man, not only of positive opinions, but of a self-exercised and thoroughly independent judgment. Apropos to the subject of this essay, (though not to this characteristic) I remember that on one of the King's unceremonious calls on my great uncle, on going into his library to receive him, he found the King had taken up a "Junius," lying open on the table. My uncle was in consternation: but the King quietly put it down, and without any comment, entered with unperturbed good nature, on the object of his visit.

him talk in a more alert, firm, or decided tone. There was not the slightest trace of his usual diffidence or hesitation." * * * "I declare his conversation did more thoroughly justify your non-acceptance (of office) than anything I had heard either from yourself or others." Burke speaks of the "indignation" it excited in his mind, and sums up the whole attempt as one calculated "to lower Lord Rockingham's character, and to disunite his party." This must have rekindled the resentment of the Burkes against each of those who had deserted the Rockingham connection, and as regards William Burke especially against Conway, his late chief. Their just expectations of a restoration to power, had been revived only to be disappointed.

The rancorous acerbity, nevertheless, of the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, at that time directed against every man who conduced to this treatment of the Rockinghams, is sufficiently accounted for only on the ground that they were from the pen of one of the greatest sufferers by it. Such were the Burkes. On the 18th of the same month, Burke writing again to Lord Rockingham on the same subject, declares Conway to have recently joined the corps of the "King's Friends," and after attributing to him the "job" of giving Lord Fred. Campbell the Secretaryship to the Lord Lieutenant, Burke roundly declares that "Conway is gone fairly to the devil. Lord Fred. Campbell is Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Townshend). This is Conway's job." And he had previously said, "They certainly are *negotiating something with Charles Townshend*."

On the 25th of the same month Junius writes his short Letter (IV.), attacking the *Townshends*, the Chancellor, and the treachery of the Duke of Grafton, and ends it with this sting as a climax:—"Is it for such a man that *Conway* foregoes

the connections of his youth, and the friends of his best and ripest judgment?—'*O Tempora O mores!*'" (Woodfall's Junius, ii. 470.)

Let it be noted that William Burke had a special grudge against Conway. He had been his right hand when under him at the Treasury; he wrote official letters for him, and most ably, as I have ascertained by a careful research at the State Paper Office, and had a just right to expect one of those very appointments from which it is proved, by Edmund Burke's conversation with Conway, he would have been unjustly excluded, had the negotiations with Lord Rockingham succeeded. The men, moreover, who succeeded and supplanted him were Bradshaw and Scotchmen, since the names of David Hume and William Frazer occur among the official papers at William Burke's retirement. Now Junius, in another letter, sneers at the "natural obscurity of Scotch Clerks in the back ground,"—all of whom were the marked targets of Junius's venom, and to a degree of rancour unaccountable had Junius not been in a post and of a rank to have been personally incensed by them, as well as by Cabinet Ministers. This William Burke was.

It is a remarkable fact, that in Letter IV. Junius declares of Lord Townshend and his brother Charles, that he has served under the one, and has been forty times promised to be served by the other. William Burke retained his office of Under Secretary in the Treasury after Charles Townshend came into office as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and this therefore is literally true of him, and there can be no doubt that Lord Townshend had once intimacy enough with them to make a promise as much to his interest as the conciliation of the Burkes. That they had reason bitterly to dislike this "*par nobile fratrum*," as Junius terms them, is

manifest from the account given in the "Grenville Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 236, of the insolent refusal of Charles to exchange his post at the Pay Office, in May, 1766, when he was urged by the Rockingham party to accept a higher office and aid them in Parliament—"he meant to keep his place, they durst not take it from him if they could, and could not if they durst."

Immediately after Charles Townshend's death (on September 4th, 1767,) we find Edmund Burke denying in Parliament the assertion that he had conceived any plan for remedying the general distress, and prompt to discredit any merit imputed to him but that of talents. (See report of Burke's Speech, Woodfall's Junius, ii. p. 501.)

The flattering remonstrance of Junius with "Mr. Townshend," on his complaint that the public gratitude had not been answerable to his deserts, (Letter, October 5th, 1771,) refers to Burke's friend then living.

A few days after the appearance of Letter IV., the Burkes and Rockinghams had an additional reason for damaging and repudiating Conway, and the whole of the Grafton Administration. This was made known to Edmund Burke by the Duke of Newcastle in a letter to him dated August 30th 1767, in which his Grace says—"Mr. Rigby asked my Lord Albemarle, as from himself, whether the Marquis (of Rockingham) was clear of Mr. Conway, and all connection with the present Administration?" To which Lord Albemarle said, "*that he hoped he was;*" and my Lord Albemarle adds, in his letter to me,—"It will be very necessary to have that point thoroughly known before any steps can be taken towards a renewal of the negotiations with the Duke of Bedford and his friends." A fortnight scarcely elapses before Junius writes the bitterest Letter of the whole series: in

which he deals metaphorical invectives, after the exact fashion of Burke's similes, at the Duke of Grafton, Conway, Lord Camden, Lord Northington, Lord North, Lord Granby Sir Gilbert Elliot, and the whole fry of Scotch subs: a tolerably wholesale mode of adopting the Duke of Newcastle's hint to Edmund Burke. The following *morceau* may serve as a specimen of the whole:—

"Your principal character, my Lord, is a young Duke,* mounted upon a lofty phaeton; his head grows giddy; his horses carry him violently down a precipice, and a bloody carcase, the fatal emblem of Britannia, lies mangled under his wheels. By the side of this furious charioteer, sits Caution, without foresight,† a motley thing, half military, scarcely civil. He, too, would guide, but, let who will drive, is determined to have a seat in the carriage." (Woodfall's Edition of Junius.)

On August 1st, 1767, Edmund Burke writes to Lord Rockingham, that "Lord Bute is seldom a day out of town: I cannot find" he adds, "whether he confers directly and personally with the Ministry *but am told he does.*" (Correspondence, i. 107.) On September 16th, Lord Bute having been previously, (in June) sketched and dismissed as a "notorious coward, skulking under a petticoat," etc., who, "without abilities, had a natural itch for doing mischief," (Woodfall's Junius, ii. 466,) is again brought on the *tapis*, and Lord Townshend, the new Lord Lieutenant, is taunted with his "friendship" for him: and in the labored satire of October 22nd, 1767, (Woodfall's Junius, ii. 482,) Junius represents the Duke of Grafton, Lords Northington, Camden, Shelburne, Townshend,

* The Duke of Grafton.

† Mr. Conway, Secretary of State for the Northern Department.

and Mr. Conway, as expressing their abject allegiance to Lord Bute. Conway however left the Ministry on the accession of the Bedfordites, on the 20th of January following, and from that time all abuse of him by Junius ceased; and Edmund Burke tells Dr. Markham, as we have seen, that William Burke was on friendly terms with him: and within four months of Conway's secession, Junius praises his "firmness!" and in May, 1769, (Vol. iii. p. 204,) declares that he "has mended his reputation," "*Sic tempora mutantur*," *etc.*

The Bedfords having now joined the Ministerial camp, became, as we shall see, objects of attack and hatred conjointly to Burke and Junius.

To Lord Shelburne, the Burkes naturally entertained the strongest aversion. Junius describes him in Miscellaneous Letter V., as "heir apparent of Loyolla," and begs Lord Townshend, he, having a taste for sketching, to paint him "as Malagrida." In the lampoon in Letter VII., he is again described as the best qualified devil to draw up the instructions to Lord Townshend, on his appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

Edmund Burke's hatred of this Lord, and belief in his mischievous enmity to the Lord Rockingham, is sufficiently evinced in his letter to that nobleman, in which he says, on July 18th, 1768, "Lord Shelburne still continues in administration, though as adverse and as much disliked as ever." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 159.)

VII.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.—THE BURKES AND JUNIUS. —HIS PRIVATE LETTERS TO GRENVILLE.

THE attachment of Junius to George Grenville, and Edmund Burke's dislike of him, have been often cited as a proof of Burke's innocence of the authorship of Junius. I deny neither of these premises: nor is it in the least requisite to my case that I should. Intimate as was the *liaison* between Edmund and William, it is neither necessary nor natural that their every sympathy and feeling should be in common.*

It happens, however, that the disclosure by Lord Fitzwilliam, of Burke's private correspondence, affords incontestible proof how completely in unison was the policy adopted by Burke with the Letters of Junius.

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* Whatever might have been Edmund Burke's personal dislike to George Grenville, nothing can be plainer than that it was to the interest of the Rockingham party to uphold him the moment after the failure of the Graftonites to unite him to them, and their success with the Bedford party. This double event took place in November and December, 1767. On the 18th of December, as Horace Walpole informs us, the people most hateful to the Burkes, including Lords Weymouth, Sandwich, and Rigby, (who, as if to acclimatize their wrath, was made Vice Treasurer of Ireland), were included in the Ministry.

The "Grenville Correspondence" contains three letters which it so happened that I did not read until I had formed my opinion from a consideration of the whole of William Burke's course, alike as Junius and in his personal relations. I think the reader will find in these three letters, as I did, a striking corroboration of my view of the peculiar junction of self-seeking and real patriotism which characterizes William Burke.

In the autumn of 1767, when the negotiations were afloat to include Grenville, his own inclination to be included became manifest, and Walpole states that "he (Grenville) and Lord Temple (his brother) attempted a private negotiation with Lord Hertford by the means of *Calcraft* and General Walsh;"—that "Lord Hertford readily consented to court the Grenvilles, * * * * while Grenville was preparing to soften the Court by affected moderation," etc. Now this Calcraft was an informant of Edmund Burke, who says in one of his letters—"Calcraft gave me the enclosed names," etc. Though this negotiation, as we have seen, proved abortive, yet it amply sufficed to show William Burke the chances of Grenville's reaccession.

Just on the eve of the dissolution of Parliament, in the next year, and when the disruption of the tottering Cabinet might be looked for, Junius writes as follows, privately to George Grenville:—

"Sir, "London, February 6th, 1768.

"The observations contained in the enclosed paper are thrown together and sent to you upon a supposition that the Tax therein referred to will make part of the budget. If Lord North should have fallen upon any other scheme, they will be useless. But if the case happens, and they shall appear to have any weight, the author is satisfied, that no man in this country can make so able a use of them, or place them in so advantageous a light as Mr. Grenville.

"It is not, Sir, either necessary or proper to make myself known to you at present. Hereafter I may perhaps, claim that honor. In the mean time be assured that it is a voluntary disinterested attachment to your person founded on an esteem for your spirit and understanding, which has, *and will for ever engage me in your cause.* A number of late publications (falsely attributed to men of far greater talent) may convince you of my zeal, if not of my capacity to serve you.

"The only condition, which I presume to make with you, is that you will not only not show these papers to anybody, but that you will never mention your having received them. "C."

"The enclosed paper" was an able *exposé* to Grenville not only of a project of the Government to tax all goods sold by auction, but of the most valid objections to it, which were extremely well put. Its object seems to have been to show Grenville how useful Junius could be to him as an Under Secretary.

This is a complete offer of himself to Grenville. It may seem, that if this were done by William Burke, it was inconsistent with his attachment to his relative. Certainly not. We know that precisely a similar course was adopted by William Burke, with Edmund Burke's complete assent, when the former remained in office in 1766, under Conway, and the Chathamites, who had at that very time behaved worse to Lord Rockingham and Burke, than ever George Grenville had done in all the encounters he had with his old, but always open and manly antagonist. There was nothing degrading to William Burke, therefore, in a wish to serve under George Grenville. It was natural, and his obvious interest. Moreover Edmund Burke had previously been at pains to express himself confidingly and handsomely of George Grenville, for in the "Grenville Correspondence," (vol. iv. p. 311, July 12th, 1768,) Mr. Whately says in a letter to Mr. Grenville:—

"Wedderburn has had a long conversation with Mr. Burke, whose language with respect to you, he observed, was very different from any he had ever heard from that quarter. Mr. Burke took notice that the language which he heard you held, was that of a very wise man: the particular topic to which he alluded was, that no Minister could be safe, or be active, who was not sure of the King, and of the persons with whom he was connected, which he had been told had been a principle you had much insisted on lately: he added, that you were certainly a most excellent party man; that your behaviour to the Bedfords had proved you might be relied on; that you would not desert those who would abide by you, and were steady to all your purposes: that it was pleasant to be connected with such a man, and the party would act with confidence who acted under him."

We shall presently see that in a conversation between William Burke and Dr. Hay, in July 1768, George Grenville,—who had already refused to join the patchwork Cabinet of the preceding winter, which included the Bedford tail, to the exclusion of the Rockingham party,—was mentioned by the latter to William Burke, "as a very proper matter of consideration for admission into a new Whig Ministry, (which should include the Rockingham party;) but he did not insist overmuch on that point." William Burke therefore knew that George Grenville would probably form an important actor in the combination alone likely to restore his cousin and himself to power, and immediately afterwards appeared two Letters of Junius, vindicating his high claims to the confidence of the country, and containing in this peroration a direct allusion to his fitness for a high post:—

"It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that we are at this moment on the brink of a dreadful precipice; the question is, whether we shall still submit to be guided by the hand which hath driven us to it, or whether we shall follow the patriot voice,* which has not ceased to warn us of our dangers, and which would still declare the way to safety and honor." (Woodfall's Junius, iii. p. 79.)

* George Grenville's.

On the 3rd of September, 1768, Mr. Grenville received another Letter from Junius, in which he says:—

"It may not be improper you should know that the public is entirely mistaken with respect to the author of some late publications in the newspapers. Be assured that he is a man quite unknown and unconnected. He has attached himself to *your* cause and to *you* alone, upon motives, which, if he were of consequence enough to give weight to his judgment, would be thought as honorable to you, as they are truly satisfactory to himself. *At a proper time he will solicit the honor of being known to you:* he has present important reasons for wishing to be concealed.

"Some late papers in which the cause of this country, and the defence of your character and measures have been thought not ill maintained;—others signed 'Lucius,' and one or two upon a new commission of trade, with a multitude of others, came from this hand. They have been taken notice of by the public.

"May I plead it as a merit with you, Sir, that no motives of vanity should ever discover the author of this letter. If an earnest wish to serve you gives me any claim, let me entreat you not to suffer a hint of this communication to escape you to anybody.

"C."

In the interval after the first Letter, the turn of affairs and the growing misgovernment of the Ministry, especially as to the Middlesex election, had confirmed Grenville more and more strongly in opposition. It had, as we have seen, assimilated his policy to that of the Burkes, and must have tended to confirm William Burke in his desire to make good his hold on Grenville.

Lord Chatham's retirement was imminent, and a re-formation of the Ministry with it. On the 12th of October, Chatham tendered his resignation through the Duke of Grafton.

On the 20th of October, Junius writes another Letter to George Grenville, from which the following are extracts:—

"The town is curious to know the author (of the Miscellaneous Letters.) Everybody guesses, some are quite certain, and all are mis-

taken. Some, who bear your character, give it to the Rockinghams; (a policy I do not understand;) and Mr. Bourke denies it, as he would a fact, which he wished to have believed."

"It may be proper to assure you that no man living knows, or even suspects the author. *I have no connection with any party*, except a voluntary attachment to *your* cause and person. It began with amusement, grew into habit, was confirmed by a closer attention to your principles and conduct, and is now heated into passion. The *Grand Council* was mine, and I may say, with truth, *almost everything that, for two years past, has attracted the attention of the public.* * * * For want of hints, etc. I fear I frequently mistake your views, as well as the true point whereon you would choose to rest the questions, in which your name is concerned. * * *Until you are Minister, I must not permit myself to think of the honor of being known to you.* When that happens, you will not find me a needy or a troublesome *dependent.*"

The conclusion from all this is, that William Burke, fearful that the Rockingham party might not regain office, and thinking Grenville more likely to come in without them, or possibly with them, was desirous to have two strings to his bow, and secure himself the favor of so likely a statesman, having established a claim and a reputation as Junius, whenever it should suit his purpose to disclose his identity to the new Minister. Grenville's death, in 1770, frustrated his purpose.

William Burke and others had, before the summer of the following year, so effectually appeased the schism between Edmund and George Grenville, that, as we have seen, in September the former writes to Lord Rockingham, while at Billesden, Lord Verney's seat, that "Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville seem prodigiously desirous of my paying them a visit;" and the visit was paid by Edmund together with William Burke.

The publication of the pamphlet by Grenville, and the famous answer by Burke, on the "State of the Nation," do

not appear to have increased their severance. Each was published anonymously.

Horace Walpole thus sketches the manœuvres of the time, (November, 1768,) and strongly shows how much reason William Burke had for viewing Grenville as the coming man:—

"An opposition so distracted and disunited, called for recruits—at least, for something that might sound creditable in the ears of the public, and keep up a spirit. Calcraft, who had the best head for intrigue in the whole party, contrived a reconciliation between Lord Temple and Lord Chatham, as a prelude to the re-appearance of the latter; and Lady Chatham was made to say, that her Lord had got an efficacious fit of the gout, which was to imply that his head was quite clear. Still this coalition in that family had no other effect than to alarm the Bedfords, who, concluding, according to a prevailing notion at that time, that nothing could withstand the union of the three brothers, and forgetting how lately they had deserted Grenville, or rather, remembering it with fear, thought the best method of securing themselves was to add another treachery, and betray the Duke of Grafton. On this they determined in a meeting at Rigby's, and sent to offer themselves to Grenville; and were, as they deserved, rejected. Calcraft's next step was to try through me to connect Mr. Conway with the Grenvilles." (Walpole's Memoirs, iii. pp. 274-5.)

Junius (or rather William Burke, as I think I am entitled to call him,) unbiassed by the prejudice which the frequent tilts of Edmund Burke with Grenville caused, had formed a far juster appreciation than Edmund of his character, thus eloquently sketched in Junius's Letter, of December 15th, 1768—a natural sequel to the private ones.

"Your weight and authority in Parliament are acknowledged by the submission of your opponents. Your credit with the public is equally extensive and secure, because it is founded on a system of conduct wisely adopted and firmly maintained. You have invariably adhered to one cause, one language, and when your friends deserted that cause, they deserted you. They who dispute the rectitude of your opinions, admit that your conduct has been uniform, manly, and consistent."

Subsequently to this period, I fail to find any open expression of Edmund Burke's animosity to George Grenville; but in the following May, Lord Charlemont, an Irish nobleman, who had Burke's confidence, and avows the same prejudice, writes to him after the famous dinner held at the Thatched Tavern, to celebrate the defeat of the large minority of May 8th, 1769, on the affair of Wilkes and the Middlesex election, and also "for the purpose," as Lord Fitzwilliam tells us, "of promoting union between the several parties then in opposition to government." Lord Charlemont writes to Burke, "The society was increased by the hero of the 'Observations,' (Grenville's pamphlet.) I do, however, believe that this accession is in one sense of the *highest importance*."

On the 2nd of July, 1769, Edmund Burke, in a letter to Lord Rockingham, not only discloses the reason why he himself, at that very time (in accordance with the cue he had received from Lord Charlemont) was endeavouring to parade a friendship for Grenville, whom it was daily becoming more likely to attach to the Rockingham party,—but in it *he also suggests the very course which Junius had taken in* 1768, *and frequently afterwards took of paying compliments to Grenville with that design.*

After referring to the then vexed question of "General Warrants," Burke writes thus:—

"Your Lordship sees that it will require some delicacy to keep up that very right idea of your Lordship's, 'that they should recollect to what party they are obliged for that determination, without seeming to put a studied affront on George Grenville, with whom *an appearance of union at this time, and on this measure, may be very necessary*." (Letter dated July 2nd, 1769. Correspondence, i. 171.)

A week afterwards, Burke writes again to the Marquis of Rockingham, as follows:—

"The plan of the Court, coinciding sufficiently with his dispositions, (Lord Chatham's,) but totally adverse to your principles and wishes, would be to keep the gross of the present Ministry as the body of the place, and to buttress it up *with the Grenvilles* and the Shelburne people."

Let us now turn to Junius. Mark the dates! On the 8th July, 1769, six days after the advice by Burke to Lord Rockingham to keep up an appearance of friendship with Grenville, Junius writes as follows:—

"Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham, have successively had the honor to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants of the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. * * * * * * * * Lord Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the *shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville*, nor in the mild, but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham." (Woodfall's Junius, vol. i. 506-7.)

In September, Burke moreover discovered that Grenville, though he had "originally entertained doubts" about Burke's pet scheme of petitions respecting rights of election, was then entirely in favour of a petition to the *Crown*, etc. "I confess myself," adds Burke, "entirely of the same opinion."

Grenville, though he opposed Wilkes, equally combated the unconstitutional outrage by which the House of Commons excluded him. Grenville's character indeed fully justified the praise Junius bestowed on him. He was a stranger to Junius, as he tells us, and he was also personally unacquainted with William Burke: who had, nevertheless, rightly understood him. Without genius, and deficient in rhetorical power, he was respectable in every relation of statesmanship. A severe and consistent economist, thoroughly versed in the business of Parliament, equally devoid of corruption and courtesy, he vindicated the innate power of principle, and enforced respect in times little accustomed to

give ascendancy to virtue. His chief fault was his utter disregard of the urbanities due to the King. He had, doubtless, no easy course to steer, but his conduct was unjustifiable to his Sovereign, even according to his own account of it. I fear that this blemish in his career nowise lessened his merits in the eyes of the Burkes.

Junius's mention of Bourke's* denial of the authorship happened to be the exact truth, as Dr. Markham's and Townshend's letters show,—and William had a very good right to refer to it, if he wished to persuade Grenville, as he must have done, that he was not Grenville's opponent, as Edmund had been.

It is worthy of note that Junius, in these three Letters to Grenville, presents himself as a man less eminent than those to whom the authorship of the letters had been then assigned: and such was the case with William Burke. It was equally true that he was connected with no party: he had, in effect, ceased to be so from the time he held office under a Ministry hostile to Lord Rockingham; and yet he wrote in support of the Rockingham interest. No other man was in a similar position. William Burke, having then made money in the funds, was, as he says, in independent circumstances.

If it be true, as it doubtless was, that Junius had "written almost everything which had attracted attention for two years past," then there could have been no other letters attacking Lord Hillsborough, in the same year, and just before this time, but his own; for they attracted *so much attention*, that on that ground they were singled out for mention by Walpole, who affirms that they were written by William Burke: a statement to which I shall again refer in Chapter IX.

* It was often so spelled, though not by Edmund Burke.

VIII.

LORD CHATHAM, JUNIUS, AND THE BURKES.

AS the Earl of Chatham was the great political feature of his times, and since the conduct of Junius towards him was strange, be Junius who he may, and inexplicable unless he were a Burke, I must give a separate chapter to the relation between them.

It may be thought that in two or three of his early Miscellaneous Letters already cited from Woodfall's edition, Junius deals too harshly with Lord Chatham. Like Burke, he had however at that time changed his opinion of him. "I cannot admit" he writes to the "Public Advertiser," on May 28th, 1767, "I cannot admit that because Mr. Pitt was respected and honored a few years ago, the Earl of Chatham, therefore, deserves to be so now."

Chatham's conduct had richly deserved the opprobrium which Junius cast upon it. When every motive of patriotism and affinity of principle manifestly demanded of him a generous support of the Rockingham party, he repelled them for no other assignable cause than his own craving ambition to rule alone. Soon after he had assumed the Premiership, he left his turbulent and anomalous Ministry for whole months in a state of anarchy disastrous to the interests of the country—shutting himself up at Bath, denying access to them, and withholding even the expression of his wishes.

Ill health was no plea for conduct so outrageous. The retention of power which he was utterly incapable of wielding, condemns him.

Lord Macaulay himself very powerfully confirms the justice of censuring Chatham, even in the essay devoted to his praise; and shows the deep cause which Burke and the Rockinghams had to act the part of censors with unsparing severity.—"He had deeply injured them, and in injuring them, had deeply injured his country. When the balance was trembling between them and the Court, he had thrown the whole weight of his genius, of his renown, and of his popularity, into the scale of misgovernment." To Burke, Lord Macaulay proceeds to attribute a prominent share of the resentment of his party.—"It must be added that many eminent members of the party still retained a bitter recollection of the asperity and disdain with which they had been treated by him at the time when he assumed the direction of affairs. It is clear from Burke's pamphlets and speeches, and still more clear from his private letters and from the language which he held in conversation, that he regarded Chatham with a feeling not far removed from dislike." Mr. Macknight goes far further and says—"It is not wonderful that when Burke saw the blessed work of reconciliation and justice which Lord Rockingham and himself had striven to perfect altogether destroyed by the folly, incompetence, and instability of the men whom Chatham had introduced into the Administration, that this burning sense of injury should have grown fiercer and fiercer within him, *as he was compelled to suppress its outward manifestation.*" (Vol. i. p. 244.)

Thus were Junius and the Burkes possessed of similar feelings towards Chatham, nor does the fraternity between them end

here. It finds utterance in terms strikingly expressive of the same antipathies, on the same grounds, and at the same times. It is not till Lord Chatham had long surrendered office, (on July 8th, 1769,) that Junius vouchsafes to do *open* homage even to the superiority of his abilities: nor is it till two years later, (August 13th, 1771,) that the praises of Chatham are *extorted* from him. We shall see presently under what significant conjuncture of circumstances.

The most difficult task for those who would defend the consistency of Junius is one which seems never to have occurred to any of them. It is to reconcile his Private Letter, of January 2nd, 1768 to Lord Chatham, with all the well merited censure, written only a few months before, and continued in a Letter (No. XI.) into the previous month of December. For though the probable retirement of Lord Chatham from his office might abate the wrath, and silence the attacks, of the great unknown, it certainly could not alter his estimate of the character he had been at pains to blacken, or reconcile it with the following exordium in this singular Private Letter:—

"My Lord—If I were to give way to the sentiments of respect which I have always entertained for your character, or to the warmth of my attachment to your person, I should write a longer letter than your Lordship would have time or inclination to read."

The Letter then proceeds to tell his Lordship,—what he probably knew full well long before Junius,—the trickeries of the Chancellor, the ingratitude of Northington, the puerility of Conway, and the manœuvring of the Duke of Grafton and the Bedfords,—*te, Bute, Consule!*

The object was palpably to confirm, and to ripen the disgust of Chatham with his colleagues into a rupture with them: and thus to bar their next advances, and open the way

for afterwards securing his adhesion to a purer Government. The end was good, but the means were indefensibly disingenuous: for Junius could not have felt the esteem he expressed. My belief is, that he never intended Chatham or the world to know the identity of the authorship of the Miscellaneous Letters, under other signatures, with the far more studied compositions of Junius. He took a pride in the reputation of that great name, and it is noteworthy that his first use of it was in this Private Letter to Lord Chatham: and *it* is not inconsistent with the subsequent mention of Lord Chatham by Junius under that signature. It will be shown what good cause the Burkes had to change their tone towards him.

In his first Miscellaneous Letter, Junius merely exhibits his consistent love of the constitution by charging Lord Chatham with *the principle implied* in his outrageous speech during the Rockingham Ministry, on the general right of the Colonists to resist taxation by the mother country, when advocating the repeal of the Stamp Duty which George Grenville had recklessly imposed on the Americans:—"*I rejoice*, said he, *that America has resisted.*" Seeing that the absolute right of Great Britain to make laws to bind the Colonies and people of America "in all cases whatsoever" was then part of the statute law of the realm, (6 Geo. III. c. xii. s. 1.) and that the resistance of the Americans which Chatham extolled was an act of rebellion, he fully deserved impeachment for his conduct. No constitutional lawyer has since upheld his doctrine, and Junius nowise oversteps the limits of just censure in imputing to him a readiness "to declare himself the patron of sedition, and a zealous advocate for rebellion."

Junius having attacked Lord Chatham, directly or indirectly, up to three days before his retirement from office,

then writes on the 19th of October, 1768, that of "the Earl of Chatham he had much to say, but it were inhuman to persecute, when Providence has marked out the example to mankind."

Chatham retired despite the vehement remonstrance of the King. "What was done thenceforward, he was," (as Lord Mahon says,) "so far from directing, that he scarcely knew; he had fallen as a dead body falls, blind, unheeding, unstirred:"* but not without a dying kick at his quondam friends,—for he wrote to the Duke of Grafton, censuring in significant terms his breach with Shelburne and the dismissal of Amherst. After the year 1768, Junius ceased to abuse him. After eight months more of gout and seclusion, Chatham reappears again at Court in July, 1769; and, says Mr. Massey:—

"After the levee he had an audience of the King, by whom he was received with the most marked expressions of regard and favor. But His Majesty had little encouragement, from this interview, to hope that his system of government would receive the sanction or support of his great subject. Chatham spoke of the measures which had been adopted, especially of the proceedings against Wilkes, with disapprobation, and plainly intimated his purpose of opposing the Government."

In the same month Junius first begins publicly to speak well of Lord Chatham, praising him for preferring his duty to compliances expected from his position, and complimenting, as we have seen, the proud, imposing superiority of his abilities.

Lord Chatham acted in full accordance with the intention he had expressed to the King. He cold shouldered the Duke of Grafton, he foregathered with the Grenvilles, and journeyed with his whole family to Stowe "in a jimwhiskey drawn by

* Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 343.

two horses, one before the other,* which he drove himself," (as Burke tells us at the end of the same July) "his train of two coaches and six, with twenty servants male and female," accompanying him. He reappears in Parliament in the following January; he censures the Address; inveighs against the seating of Luttrell in the place of Wilkes; supports the faltering onslaught of Lord Rockingham upon the Duke of Grafton, on the 22nd of January, touching the Public Discontents; advocates an enlargement of the County Representation,—and in short, by his repeated attacks upon the ill-fated Duke of Grafton, drives him to resign. "Thus," as Lord Mahon justly remarks, "no sooner had Lord Chatham emerged from his retirement and raised his voice against the Ministry than the Ministry crumbled to pieces." He thus consummated the exact object which Junius had so long labored to achieve. The Rockinghams were however as far from office as ever: and the antagonism of the Burkes continues against Lord North and his colleagues.

The busy enmity of Chatham to the "powers that be" did not terminate with the downfall of their great enemy. "He brought forward several uncompromising motions against the Government," as Lord Mahon tells us. Next Session he assailed them for their cowardice in the affair of Port Egmont and the conduct of Spain. No speeches were more vehement than his, and he again attacked the Government in the matter of the contest between the two Houses and with the City of London in 1771.

Up to this time, though Lord Chatham had thus furthered the aims of Junius, not a syllable of praise had escaped him in his published Letters, except the few curt acknowledg-

* Is this the grandfather of tandems?

ments of his superior abilities in July, 1769. Why was this? If Francis were Junius, what conceivable motive could have induced *him* to withold praise of his own early benefactor, now powerfully abetting his political antipathies and furthering his personal aims? But how if Junius were a man tied to the fortunes of Edmund Burke, and bound no less by affection than interest *jurare in verba magistri?* Let us turn to the private expressions of Edmund Burke's feelings to Lord Chatham during this same eventful period, and follow the phases of its change from hatred to tolerance, from tolerance to esteem.

On July 9th, 1769, Burke depicts him "as talking some significant pompous creeping explanatory ambiguous matter in the true Chathamic style" to the King. In the following October he finds that Lord Chatham has spoken "in the highest terms" of Burke's friend, Admiral Keppel. But his opinions towards the Rockinghams were "reserved." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 195.) Twenty days later Burke says, "perhaps it might be as well not to suggest anything of our dislike of that person (the Earl) to any one of the sacred band." (p. 204.) Then follows Burke's famous description of him as "hovering in air over all parties, to souse down where the prey may prove the best." (p. 206.) In the November following, Burke tells Lord Rockingham that Chatham was represented to him by Lord Temple as "violent" against the Ministry; "determined to come out on the first day of the Session;" that the Rockinghams and other great Whig families ought to take the lead in such (a new) Administration, etc. (p. 215.) Afterwards he says, "I saw Keppel, who has received a much more direct message from Lord Chatham than the former, * * containing a strong declaration of his resolution never to act, but with

your Lordship and your system, with many high praises of both." (p. 217.) A little later we find that he "by no means thinks that Chatham goes so entirely with the Grenvilles as they think, or that he will make himself so subservient to their aggrandisement as they could wish." (p. 219.)

This is in perfect keeping with the reticence of Junius, then and from the preceding July, respecting Chatham. Edmund Burke, with waning prejudice, still distrusted him. It is not until August 15th, 1770, that Edmund Burke commits himself to any unqualified praise of Chatham, and then to his friend Shackelton he writes—"Lord C. behaved handsomely in rejecting the idea of a triennial Parliament which the jury of London, at the instigation of the "Bill of Rights" men, thought proper to fasten upon him in order to slur us." (p. 230.) In the following month, Burke writes to Lord Rockingham that Chatham "agrees with *our* idea of taking up two points of the rights of election, and the bringing evil councillors to justice." (p. 241.) Such being the change of Burke's political feeling towards Chatham, it is not surprising that he should, though prompted by policy perhaps more than affection, have complimented him in the House in 1771, as "a great man, who, though not a member of the Cabinet, seems to hold the key of it," etc.

On August 13th, in the same year, Junius, hitherto silent regarding Lord Chatham, pronounces this celebrated panegyric—which, as long as our language lives, will be admired for its classical grandeur :—

"It is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem. As for the common, sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. *My* vote will hardly recommend him to an

increase of his pension, or to a seat in the Cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honorable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him, to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision—even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honors shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned."

Junius continued his praise of Lord Chatham in 1771 publicly, and also privately to Wilkes. Thus, just in proportion as Lord Chatham's conduct became serviceable to the Burkes, and as Edmund Burke's old enmity passed away, did Junius relent towards him and praise him.

I have enlarged on the relation of Junius to Chatham, because the necessity (in 1767) under which the Rockinghams and Burkes felt to damage him, as the past foe and present obstacle to their power, called Junius forth: his first known Letter having been written exclusively to assail Lord Chatham.

In those days, when Burke's grand intellect and vast capacities gave him a moral ascendancy which has dignified his name, there was no man living who could have appeared to him either so gifted, or so empowered, as to present a formidable barrier to the success of his political ambition—*except Chatham*, who had contrived among statesmen,

Αἰεν ἀρίστευειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

He captivated the people, he awed the senate, and he spellbound the King. No one indeed who reads the history of those days can doubt that had he, at any hour while Junius was attacking him, or during many months previously, thrown his own weight into the scale of the high principles and respectability of the Rockingham party,—instead of supporting a motley group devoid of either,—the Marquis of Rock-

ingham must have been the alternative of the King, and Burke have led the Commons.*

He and his cousin therefore had very good reason to wrestle with this giant foe, while he was such; and to defer a return to amity and alliance until Chatham had fully proved the earnestness of his subsequent co-operation with their policy and interests.

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* An anecdote related by Lord Mahon shows that this was Burke's high, but perfectly justifiable ambition. A Committee of the Privy Council was summoned:—

"The public expectation was eager, and the Council Chamber thronged. Among others struggling, for the most part vainly, for admittance, was Dr. Priestley, who has left us a lively description of the scene. 'We shall never get through,' cried he to Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke said, 'Give me your arm,' and locking it fast in his, he soon made his way to the door of the Privy Council. I then said 'Mr. Burke, you are an excellent leader.' He replied, 'I wish other persons thought so too.'" (Lord Mahon, vol. v. p. 326.)

IX.

ATTACKS OF JUNIUS ON LORD HILLSBOROUGH. WALPOLE'S TESTIMONY THAT WILLIAM BURKE WAS THE ASSAILER.

WHILST the reasons I have named rendered it the policy of the Burkes to attack and weaken the Government in 1768, an occasion for doing so was offered by the treatment of Sir Jeffery Amherst. The gravamen of his grievance was, that Lord Hillsborough having asked him—in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the Virginians at his holding the sinecure post of their Governor whilst non-resident in Virginia,—to resign his post, before his answer was given, Lord Boutetort (a courtier) was appointed in his stead. Conflicting statements are given of the facts of this case. Mr. Massey, for instance, holds that Amherst gave frivolous reasons for resisting the wishes of the Government, that a full equivalent by way of pension was offered him, and that he complained only as a means of making terms with the Government. Lord Mahon, agreeing rather with Lord Chatham and Junius, and citing the charges of the latter, inclines to think that Amherst "might be justly offended at a point of form," and that the case was not that Virginia wanted a Governor, but that a Court favorite wanted a salary. It may so have been, and there is no ground for doubting that Junius thought so;

inasmuch as the Ministry were not reputed for redressing abuses without some very clear view to their own interest. Junius accordingly devoted about a dozen Letters, from August to October, some personally addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, the new Secretary of State for America; and all of them making Lord Hillsborough's treatment of Amherst the chief point of the strictures launched at himself and his colleagues.

I need not dwell on these Letters: they are one and all in perfect uniformity with the design of Junius and the conduct of Burke on this point, from first to last.* But it happens that those attacking Lord Hillsborough are the subject of direct evidence that William Burke was Junius.

Horace Walpole, in his "Memoirs of the Reign," says that

* The proofs that Junius was aiming at the restoration of the Rockinghams, backed by Grenville, are constantly peeping out. We find him in one of his Letters in 1778 saying, "If you will now permit me to offer my opinion of the great persons, under whose Administration we are reduced to this deplorable state, the public will be enabled to judge whether these are the men most likely to relieve us from it." (Woodfall's Junius, iii. p. 166.)

To George Grenville he addresses this aphorism;—"Folly cannot long take the *pas* of wisdom, and ignorance sooner or later must submit to experience."

To Lord Hillsborough he says, with equal justice; and with still more direct allusion to the goal of his efforts:—

"You have sent Sir Jeffery Amherst to the plough. You have left him poor in every article of which a false fawning Minister could deprive him;—but you have left him rich in the esteem, the love, and veneration of his country. You cannot now recall him by any offer of wealth or honors. Yet I foretell that a time will come, when you yourself will be the cause of his return. Proceed my Lord, as you have begun, and you will soon reduce this country to an extremity, in which the wisest and best subjects *must* be called upon, and *must* be employed. Till then enjoy your triumph." (Woodfall's Junius, vol. iii. p. 155.)

"Sir Jeffery's intrinsic merit, the removal of him in favor of a Court tool, and his scorn of the pension, immediately presented him as a beloved victim to the opposition." "Lord Hillsborough, in particular, was acrimoniously pursued by the *younger Burke* in many publications." ("History of the Reign of George III.," vol. iii. 240.) This Mr. Macknight cites, but particularizes the fact more strongly thus:—"During the autumn, (1768,) William Burke strongly attacked Lord Hillsborough *in the Newspapers* for his incapacity and servility." (Vol. i. p. 302.)

The periods named therefore correspond. I find that these were the only Letters of note attacking Lord Hillsborough at the time. Nor indeed is it probable that Walpole would have noticed any but the most prominent and effective Letters, even supposing there were others, omitting mention of these most powerful ones, which called forth several answers from the friends of Lord Hillsborough.

I have already shown that these Letters were the Letters of Junius,—by the undoubted evidence of Woodfall's Editor, corroborated by the recent researches among the Grenville Papers. If, therefore, Walpole's unqualified assertion, together with Mr. Macknight's, be not a fiction, the case is proved that William Burke was Junius.

X.

THE "NULLUM TEMPUS" ACT.

IN 1767, the Government committed an historical outrage on the rights of property, in the spoliation, as Mr. Massey justly terms it, of the Duke of Portland's estate in the manor of Penrith, and for an electioneering purpose. The estate was large, and gave the possessor great electioneering influence. The Duke of Portland was a Whig, and a grant of it was passed to Sir James Lowther, *the Earl of Bute's son-in-law*, on the strength of the old exploded maxim of *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, for this manor had once been Crown property.

This gross act became public early in the following year, and, as Mr. Macknight observes, "alarmed all the aristocracy, and *particularly offended Burke* and the Rockingham party." (Vol. i. p. 289.) The reason why it especially offended the Burkes is further explained in this note by Lord Fitzwilliam, in the "Correspondence," vol. i. p. 158:—"William Henry, third Duke of Portland, whose distinguished friendship Mr. Burke had the happiness to obtain at an early period of his public life, and to preserve to his last hour, and which he returned with feelings of the highest respect and affection." Moreover the Duke of Portland visited Burke about this time.

Immediately upon the disclosure of the treatment the Duke had received, and during the months of February,

March, April, and May, there appeared in Nos. XIII, XIV, XIX, and XXI, of the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, righteous invectives assailing the Government for this act of fraud, plunder, and persecution.

The whole case against the Government was thus put before the public by Junius, in his Letter of the 12th of May, 1768, in one of those terse and lucid statements which very few men in those days could write with like effect:—

"The charge against them is *not* that they have granted to Sir James Lowther an estate which, in law, is the right of the Duke of Portland; but that they partially, and in many parts of the proceeding, surreptitiously, upon the bare report of a subordinate officer, without suffering his vouchers to be examined, without hearing counsel, or allowing time or means of defence to the party, or of due information to themselves, have violated the equitable and presumptive rights of long and undisputed possession for the purposes of undue influence at an election, and of paying a base court to a clandestine and dangerous power." (Woodfall's Junius, vol. iii. p. 52.)

This oppressive act did not end, as was expected by the Duke of Portland's friends, with the electioneering object it was first designed to serve. They were mistaken. The whole power of the Government then centred in the Duke of Grafton, and the measure of persecution was in nowise adequate to his taste for oppression, or his servility to the Bute faction. Advantage was taken of a provision in Sir George Saville's "Quieting Bill," which excepted from the saving clauses in this renewal of the Statute of James,* such claims as might be prosecuted within a year. "No sooner" says Mr. Massey, "was the Bill passed than litigations were commenced in the most vexatious form by Sir James Lowther. A single action would have sufficed to try the right; but

* An Act which limited retrospectively only the right of the Crown to the recovery of property within sixty years after dispossession.

Lowther caused four hundred ejectments to be served in one day on the tenants of the Duke, besides which he brought forty actions, and filed fifteen bills in equity against his Grace." * * "Never, since feudal license, had dismay been so widely spread." This gentle Baronet is described as having "affected the most revolting manners of the middle ages. His conduct exhibited the coarse tyranny and lawless rapine of a feudal baron, without the least tincture of the chivalry and romance which sometimes partially redeemed that character." This amiable person was forthwith selected, together with Mr. Pitt, by George the Third, as the only two commoners worthy of being rewarded with Earldoms for their respective services.

Junius not only thus did admirable service to the just rights of property in castigating the culprits, but also to political morals by exposing the gross breach of his word by the Duke of Grafton: who had positively promised the Duke of Portland, that no steps should be taken till his Grace's title had been stated, reported on, and fully considered, etc. The Premier had been defended for the gross breach of this promise by some literary minion of the Duke of Grafton on the principles of what he termed "*the soundest casuists*" and Junius retorts thus:—

"I am not deeply read in authors of that professed title, but I remember seeing Bassambaum, Saurez, Molina, and a score of other Jesuitical books, burnt at Paris for their *sound casuistry* by the hands of the common hangman. I do not know that they have yet found their way to England, unless perchance it be to the library of his Grace of Grafton, where they probably stand with the chapter of promises dog-eared down for the perusal of scrupulous statesmen."

Lest this attack should be attributed merely to Junius's love of personalities, it is well to remark that the writer he attacks admits that the promise was *inadvertently* given by

the Duke of Grafton; but then, says he, "since he was the King's servant, and had no title to the making this promise, he perceived he was not in honor bound to adhere to it."

I have dwelt somewhat in detail on this episode in the Grafton dynasty, because, in order to connect Junius with the Burkes, it is helpful, if not needful, to exculpate him from the charge of reckless venom against the objects of his attacks; and thus from a moral depravity which nowise tainted the Burke character: and in order to do this, it is an essential preliminary to remove all question of the baseness of the Duke of Grafton: for nearly the whole of the bitterest of Junius's Letters were aimed at him, or at those who directly ministered to his disastrous influence, and abetted his reckless oppressions.

A Letter of Junius occurs in this part of the series, (No. XX.) which, together with the above-named attack on the Duke of Grafton for his duplicity, affords ample refutation of the assertion of Mr. Massey—that the grounds of the fierce invectives of Junius on the Duke were chiefly his "illegitimate descent from Charles the Second, his marriage with the cousin of a man who had debauched his wife, and the mature age and faded charms of his mistress."

Junius seldom attacked the *private* vices of his opponents; but when the falsehood of the Duke added personal treachery to the robbery of his kinsman's oldest friend,—and when the Premier, his wife being present, so far forgot the outward decencies expected even from dissolute Ministers, as to parade his mistress at the opera, calling for her carriage, and escorting her to it, in a throng of the first people in the kingdom,—and such were the "chief grounds" of Junius's censures on his Grace's behaviour,—it is wrong in an histo-

rian who values his reputation for accuracy to ignore the gravest imputations of Junius, and to declare the rest, "frivolous," "absurd," and "futile."

The public conduct and manners of the First Minister of a King so virtuous as George the Third, should at least have been free from acts of treachery, and a display of profligacy, suitable only to the veracity of the Stuarts and to royal morals in the days of Nell Gwyn.

XI.

DR. HAY CONFIDES TO WILLIAM BURKE THE MINISTERIAL TACTICS OF 1768.—JUNIUS ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

DURING the month of July, 1768, William Burke had a "great deal of very serious conversation" with Dr. Hay, M.P. for Sandwich, a man then in the confidence of the Bedford party and who afterwards obtained the Judgeship of the Admiralty under them. This conversation forms the subject of a long letter, dated July 18th, 1768, in which it is detailed by Edmund Burke to Lord Rockingham. (i. Correspondence, 158.) This letter is very important, because it proves incontestably that though William Burke had ceased to be in office, he had the means of private information of the proceedings of the Ministry. It was then made known *to William Burke* first, that "the Bedfords were horridly frightened at the adhesion of Lord Camden to the Duke of Grafton, and 'found things not quite ripe at present for bringing in Grenville,' though he was mentioned by Dr. Hay as a very proper matter of consideration: that they wished Lord Rockingham to be at the head of the Treasury, but 'lamented the exclusive and proscriptive spirit of his party which he feared would make such an union difficult.'" He spoke of the Ministry as a strange, incoherent, composition *that certainly*

would not stand. He hinted at a "middle man," whom Edmund Burke thought must be Lord Gower, one of the Bedford party and then President of the Council. He also went so far as to name the Duke of Northumberland as a proper person for the Treasury, in case of the Duke of Grafton going out. "Will. Burke" (says Edmund) "told him that he did not conceive what man they could name so worthy as your Lordship of the joint confidence of parties, who had never been known to deceive any party or any individual.'"

On this conversation Edmund Burke makes this comment:—"The truth is the Bedfords will never act any part *either fair or amicable with your Lordship or your* friends, until they see *you in a situation to give the law to them,* and all attempts before that time will be not only useless but dangerous."

Now this being the opinion of Edmund Burke, and William Burke having learnt the inherent weakness of the Ministry, the untrustworthiness of the Bedford party, and that the sole hope for the restoration of the Rockinghams was in the previous discomfiture alike of the Grafton and Bedford sections, let us see whether the course thereupon taken by Junius was not precisely such as William Burke, co-operating with Edmund Burke, would have an obvious and direct interest in taking.

This confidential communication of Cabinet news to William Burke was, for some reason, habitual. He seems to have been a favorite confidant of Ministers in perplexity. As early as July, 1767, Charles Lloyd writes to George Grenville with a lot of information which he gives as being "beyond the level of common discourse," and which William Burke had just confided to him as the purport of a conference

the day before, between the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham, on Ministerial arrangements. ("Grenville Correspondence, iv. p. 54.)

The letter informing Lord Rockingham of the conversation with Dr. Hay was written on the 18th of July, 1768. On the next day Junius falls foul of Lord Hillsborough, (Miscellaneous Letter XXVI.) just then appointed to the Board of Trade, and returns to the charge on the 23rd of the same month. On the 30th he writes again one of his careful and elaborate attacks on the Government, directed against their most vulnerable point,—the Taxation of the American Colonies.

"We find ourselves," says Junius, "at last reduced to the dreadful alternative of either making war upon our Colonies, or of suffering them to erect themselves into independent states." Mr. Conway, he adds, since last December (1767) "has, in the face of the House of Commons, defended the resistance of the Colonies upon what he called revolution principles." (Woodfall's Junius, vol. iii. p. 76.)

He also speaks of the "fate of Great Britain as thrown upon the hazard of a die by a weak, distracted, worthless Ministry,* for whom an honest man must always express all the indignation he feels."

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* A foolish foot note by Woodfall's Editor, vol. iii. p. 74, applies all this to the Rockingham Administration, which, as he says, "lasted from July 10th, 1765, to July 30th, 1766," whereas Junius expressly states in the beginning of this Letter that "*it is not many months since* you gave me the opportunity of demonstrating," etc., that "the hopes which some men seemed to entertain with regard to America were without a shadow of foundation, etc." And these men he immediately says "may have but a little time to live in office," etc. Now this previous Letter is referred to by another foot note (page 73) as being Letter X., written on 19th December 1767, which treats solely of the succes-

Junius concludes this Letter after an admirable and damaging *exposé* of the Colonial mismanagement; and of the *maladresse* of the persons "who have professed themselves the patrons of lenient moderate measures until the very names of lenity and moderation became ridiculous."

On the 5th of August following, we find Junius again attacking the Government in the person of Lord Hillsborough, Secretary to the Colonies, for his treatment of Sir Jeffery Amherst.

The very next day he is at them again, on their treatment of the American Colonies, and in defence of Mr. Grenville, then in opposition. The following passage identifies the views of Junius and Burke on this subject:—

"For the matter of expediency, an advocate for the present Ministry seems to me to arraign his patrons when he argues against it (the right of taxing the Colonies.) One part of them uniformly concurred with Mr. Grenville in forming the stamp act, and in opposing the repeal of it. The other to serve the purposes of party, repealed that act,

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sors to the Rockingham Ministry. It is this which probably led Mr. Macknight into the mistake that Junius said "the Rockingham Ministry were intrinsically feeble and came in under the mediation of Lord Bute," etc. He distinctly states whom it is that he attacks in this very Letter of the 30th of July, in the following:—"From the first appearance of that rebellious spirit which has spread itself all over the Colonies, the chief members of the *present Ministry* were the declared advocates of America."

The Letter X., to which the Editor refers us, is that, moreover, in which Junius deprecates indeed the conduct held towards America throughout; but he especially denounces "a particular set of men base and treacherous enough to have enlisted under the banners of a lunatic to whom they sacrificed their honor, their conscience, and their country, in order to carry a point of party and to gratify their personal rancour," etc. Woodfall's Editor tells us in a note that this "lunatic" is Lord Chatham. Mr. Macknight will certainly not maintain that it meant Lord Rockingham.

yet shewed by their conduct that they approved of the equitable principle on which it was founded, that America should contribute a little to the support of the public expense. The repeal of the stamp act has been followed by other acts more offensive to the colonies, more directly exerting the right of taxation, and which will hardly be executed without some extraordinary efforts on the part of Government. Was the act for suspending the assembly of New York recommended by Mr. Grenville? was it he who advised the duties on paper, glass, etc., imported into the colonies? No, Sir, his successors have paid him the highest compliment by imitating the system which they had affected to condemn; and in fact they have carried his principles further than he did, or probably than he would have carried them. But it is the natural defect of a weak divided Administration that they can neither resolve with moderation nor execute with firmness." (Woodfall's Junius, iii. p. 86.)

Burke took, as nearly as may be, the very same view as Junius. If there was a divergence, it was on the occasion of Burke's maiden speech on the 27th of January, 1766, when the Repeal being in fact an open question, he voted for it; but many months before Junius appeared on the stage.

Seven days later Burke spoke against Pitt and voted for the Declaratory Act: though like Junius he subsequently, and indeed ever after, inveighed against the excess, to which the power thus properly declared of taxing the Colonies, was carried; and in 1774 when reviewing the whole of the proceedings in his celebrated speech on American Taxation, he thus expresses himself in terms precisely according with the tone and language of Junius in the foregoing extract:—

"When Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in the year 1766, I affirm first, that the Americans did *not* in consequence of this measure call upon you to give up the former parliamentary revenue which subsisted in that country; or even any one of the articles which compose it. I affirm also, that when, departing from the maxims of that repeal, you revised the scheme of taxation, and thereby filled the minds of the Colonists with new jealousy, and all sorts of apprehensions, then it was

that they quarrelled with the old taxes, as well as the new; then it was and not till then, that they questioned all the parts of your legislative power; and by the battery of such questions have shaken the solid structure of this empire to its deepest foundations."

The alleged discrepancy between the views of Junius and Burke on this subject has often been commented on. The discrepancy is in fact no discrepancy; and there is instead a remarkable identity of views on the subject, between Burke and his coadjutor.

XII.

JUNIUS'S PUBLIC LETTERS TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON, DRAPER, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, THE KING, ETC.

JUNIUS devotes his first Letter, January 21st, 1769, in the common edition, (which he collected and published himself,) to the Duke of Grafton, whom he paints as "an apostate by design—a young nobleman, already ruined by play." In April, Lord Temple tells Lady Temple that he hears from Calcraft that the Ministry "are altogether by the eare," and in May, that "things *tend apace to a coalition among us.*" (Grenville Correspondence, iii. p. cxxviii.) This must have been known to the Burkes; and accordingly the occasion is improved, and on May the 30th, Junius attacks the Duke again in his fiercest strain:—

"There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished, as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived, and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion, and, for aught I know, may die as his father died, without the reputation of a martyr."

Caustic as was this treatment of the man, be it remembered that the conduct of the Minister merited exposure, and the severest animadversion; and that we cannot discard the moral calibre of statesmen from a just estimate of their acts. It is but the legitimate exercise of opinion, and of a critical judgment of public men. The incapacity of the Duke of Grafton and his numerous acts of corrupt government and tricky policy are amply attested; and foul indeed must have been the conduct of the man, who appeared "unworthy," in the moral vision of Horace Walpole!

I pass over the episode with the ill-fated Draper, a man of whom Walpole speaks contemptuously, as of "unsound intellects," and who deserved the demolition his chivalrous resentment invited. It is a mere parenthetical occurrence, and useful only as showing that Junius, like William Burke, was imperfectly acquainted with the usages of the War Office, in the matter of pensions.*

The great aim of all the earlier of these collected Letters was to abet the exact course of assault on the entire *personnel* of the Grafton Ministry, its policy and conduct, adopted by the Rockinghams and Grenvilles; and by none more vehemently, vigorously, or incessantly, than Edmund Burke. It will be needless to wade through each Letter, and detail the constant coincidence between their views and the missiles which Junius hurled at the Cabinet.

If Wilkes was tolerated, and taken by the hand, as he was at the same time by Junius and Burke, it was, professedly, because in his person the rights of election were trampled on by the recreant Government, and its servile Parliament. If

* Of the attack of Junius on the Marquis of Granby, whom Draper afflicted with his championship, I will speak hereafter.

Chatham or Grenville were lauded by Junius, and complimented by Burke, it was invariably when, and in proportion to the degree in which, Chatham or Grenville were at that time assaulting the Ministry, and imperiling its existence.

I will now point merely to a few of the most characteristic features in the well-known Letters of Junius, and which especially show their identity with the Burke principles and interests.

In the whole of the affair of the Middlesex election and Wilkes, the efforts of Burke and Junius ran *pari passu* to the same goal. While Junius was assailing the Ministers with tooth and nail for the pardon of Mac Quirk, Burke moved for an inquiry into the conduct of the Magistrates in suppressing the riots of St. George's in the Middlesex election, and into the orders given by any of His Majesty's Secretaries of State; which inquiry, he observed, would be probably attended by an impeachment of the Secretary of State who wrote the letter to the Chairman of the Magistrates. This was Lord Weymouth.

It has surprised many to account for what must have appeared a needlessly increased vehemence in Junius's attacks on a Minister of such innate feebleness as the Duke of Grafton. Edmund Burke explains how William Burke derived a contrary impression, for on the 30th of July, 1769, Edmund Burke had received information which enabled him to assure Lord Rockingham of his "belief that the Duke of Grafton *had got new and stronger assurances than ever of support, and that the Court is fully determined to abide by the plan of the last Session.*" Thirteen days later, Edmund Burke writes that "we are come to a great crisis," that "*Will. Burke is just come from Lord Verney's,*"— that he

(William Burke) has not been at the last General Court of the East India Company, that Lord Weymouth had done so and so,—that "the gang * are driving at everything, either for their friends, or those whom they hope to make such," —that "the Butes are certainly out of humour, but don't know how to help themselves,"—that "Will. is going to town in some hurry."

Though Junius's attacks were now aimed chiefly at the conduct of the Government and all concerned in the expulsion of Wilkes, (Burke, at the same time being busily occupied in getting up the County petitions to the Crown on that grievance.) Junius now puts forth a diatribe, which, with the exception of his Letter to the King, has been more severely censured than any other. He attacks the Duke of Bedford. We have seen the growing hostility of Edmund Burke towards the Duke and his connection. He had good cause for it. It had been heightened to exasperation by the Address moved by the Duke himself at the opening of the Session. It sought to violate the right of trial by Jury among our American fellow-subjects, by the revival of what Lord Mahon righteously terms "the mouldering edict of a tyrant (Henry VIII.) from the dust where it had long lain, and where it ever deserved to lie." Such a proposal, he righteously adds, was "utterly unjustifiable." Burke assailed it and its proposer "*totis viribus*,"† and he hated

* A favorite expression of Junius applied to the Bedfords.

† Years after, Burke graphically describes the "unamiable dispositions" of the Bedfords at a political supper at Lord Rockingham's—"a behaviour in some of them scarcely polite, and a reserve which wine, circulated briskly until the sunbeams drove us from it, was not able to dispel; though these people are not indeed candid, but naturally loose

the Duke of Bedford and "the Bloomsbury gang," as he calls them, too heartily, to allow them an escape from the fangs of Junius. Lord Weymouth, the *coryphæus* of the Bedfordites in the Cabinet, had throughout his brief Ministerial career, displayed in odious traits the inherent narrowness of mind, and the repulsive injustice of his character. The legends of faction have seldom exhibited more paltry, arbitrary, or tricky conduct than that of the Duke of Bedford and his minions. Horace Walpole speaks of him in terms of censure.

Massey, far more to be relied on, after speaking of the Duke's death, thus sums up his character,—"if Granby was the most popular man in England, Bedford may be described as the public man of all others the most odious to the people." * * "Enduring obloquy through life assailed the great Whig Peer." It did so justly. His acts of foreign policy vied in pusillanimous perfidy with the intrigues and tyrannies he perpetrated at home. As Secretary of State he had assented to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in the terms of the enemy, and brought the war to what Mr. Massey justly terms "an ignominious conclusion." Our conquest of Cape Breton was shamefully ceded to France.

"A tyrant to the weak and a coward to the strong,"

he insulted the sufferings of the starving weavers at home,* upheld the lawless outrage on the rights of Election with the virus of an inveterate Tory, of a school now happily obsolete. He sought to rob our Colonists of Trial by Jury and by endless intrigues and manœuvres earned for himself, from the

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and careless talkers." He speaks also of "Bedford House having broken with your Grace (of Richmond) in a manner equally insolent and scandalous." (Correspondence, i. 378, 380.)

* See Massey's History vol. i. p. 220.

historian who attacks *Junius* for maligning him, (!) the reputation of "abusing the advantages of a commanding position to factious ends, and of preferring the petty interests of his particular party to any consideration of the public service!" He is elsewhere described as "intent only on securing the preponderance of his own weight in the Government:—what that Government should be was a secondary object." (Massey's Memoirs.)

Junius is scarcely more severe on his Grace even in the following most telling passages of his Letter. Here are the bitterest of them in his famous Letter to the Duke, of Sept. 19th, 1769. The following refers to the auspicious period at which he was deputed to represent the Earl of Bute at the Court of Versailles:—

"It was an honorable office, and executed with the same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honorable condition for his Sovereign. Their business required a man who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havannah, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negociation."

"After two years submission, you thought you had collected strength sufficient to control his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit as from all decency and respect. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honor of a gentleman.* It was

* This refers to the fact that his Grace had charged his Sovereign to his face "with breaking his promises." This has been controverted, or at least an attempt has been made to modify the charge. Edmund

then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and despatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute."

I quote these pasages to show how thoroughly they chime with the opinions of Burke, who just before its appearance had been putting on paper a "formal attack" on all the objects that "have been nearest and dearest to the Court and every one of its adherents." This paper, he tells Lord Rockingham, he has "read to William Burke." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 199.) The outlines Junius etches of the type of statesman which a virtuous and patriotic Duke of Bedford might have been, and that which his Grace was, are among the most masterly portraits ever drawn. Other parts are too personal; and some of the accusations unfair, because they are such as the accused cannot disprove. This is one of them:—

"My Lord, we are too well aquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an internal evidence, beyond all the proofs of a court of justice."

Junius has, however, been still more censured for the following:—

"I reverence the afflictions of a good man; his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart when he could look for, or find, an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at Court, and even in the misery of balloting at the India House."

Burke however not only believes it but spoke of it in the same spirit with Junius, and also of "the report of a gross and brutal treatment of the —— by a Minister at the same time odious to the people."

This incident of the balloting at the India House, again named in "Philo," Junius's Letter of October 19th, 1769, is explained by Edmund Burke's assertion, on the 13th of the previous August, to Lord Rockingham, that "though William Burke had not been at the *last* General Court of the East India Company" (as if it were his practice to be there) he, Edmund, had heard an extraordinary account of it, and they had "adjourned till Tuesday." William Burke went to town then, and no doubt was present at the next meeting.

I do not defend the taste of bringing forth the sad anecdote, in a note to the Letter of the 19th of October, of the sale of his son's clothes, by the Duke of Bedford. It is, in my judgment, a blot on Junius to have done this, but in palliation be it remarked that he did not name this until his general charges of avarice and unfeeling conduct had been controverted by a silly writer, signing himself "Modestus." I name this episode, because it affords another proof of my case: inasmuch as the widow of the Duke's deceased son, Lady Tavistock, was sister to the Hon. Augustus Keppel, whom Lord Fitzwilliam speaks of as having a "very intimate friendship" with the Burkes. (Correspondence, i. p. 138, note.) It is therefore probable that a fact not likely to have been named, except to "a very intimate friend," was so brought to the knowledge of the Burkes, and was thus more likely to have been made known to William Burke, on its occurrence, than to any other person suspected or capable of being Junius.

On the 7th of September, 1769, just after the auspicious reconciliation of the Grenville-Chatham brotherhood, Whateley, in his long account to George Grenville of his conference with Burke to cement an alliance with the Rockinghams, says, "though we mentioned a particular bond of union, we

always kept to the Middlesex election *as the text*, yet * * that the concert might be extended to all other subjects which might arise, etc." (Grenville, iv. p. 440.)

Next month Junius says on the Middlesex election:—

"It is not wonderful that the great cause in which this country is engaged, should have roused and engrossed the whole attention of the people. I rather admire the generous spirit with which they feel and assert their interest in this important question, than blame them for their indifference about any other. When the constitution is openly invaded, when the first original right of the people, from which all laws derive their authority, is directly attacked, inferior grievances naturally lose their force, and are suffered to pass by without punishment or observation."

Again he says afterwards:—

"The Ministry have realized the compendious ideas of Caligula. They know that the liberty, the laws, and the property of an Englishman have in truth but one neck, and that to violate the freedom of election, strikes deeply at them all."

Not long afterwards, (early in November) *William Burke* is present with Edmund when he visits Lord Temple at Stowe—a visit of political amenities—a miniature *conciliabulum*, preconcerted by Mr. Whateley, who figures so largely in the "Grenville Correspondence." By Edmund Burke's account of it to Lord Rockingham, it appears Lord Temple "was of opinion that, let what would happen, the great point for us was to get rid of the present Administration." He encouraged this course, moreover, by the assurance that Lord Chatham, his brother-in-law, "was exceedingly animated against the Ministry."* Here then was the cue given directly from Lord Temple to William, who was present,

* The Grenvilles cordially joined in getting up the petitions on the Wilkes affair, Temple actually visiting him in the King's Bench prison, after his surrender of himself, praising him for his conduct.

as well as Edmund Burke. It was precisely the course which, from that moment, Junius followed with redoubled vigor.

On the 14th of November, 1769, Burke writes in great glee to Lord Rockingham of the present state of Lord Chatham's politics, and lays stress on his Lordship's intention to come out on the first day of the Session against the Ministry, and especially on the necessity of forming an Administration in which the people might have some confidence, and in which the Rockinghams and Cavendishes should lead. In the same letter, adds Burke, "I said to Lord Temple, that no union could be formed of any effect or credit, which was not compacted upon this great principle that "the 'King's men' should be utterly destroyed as a corps: to which, he, Lord Temple, assented very heartily." (Correspondence, i. p. 215-216.)

Here were indeed both instructions and incentive for William Burke. How well he followed them from the very day that letter was written, let his fierce onslaughts on the Government show: first, he attacks their apathy on the rescue of General Gansel; secondly, on the shameless sale of a patent place to a Mr. Hine for £3,500, for the purpose of rewarding the outrages of Colonel Burgoyne in the Preston election.

Was this a foul slander by the man in the mask? Let Charles Lloyd tell us. He writes thus on Friday, December 1st, 1769, to George Grenville:—"I am credibly informed that the story alluded to by Junius in his last Letter relating to Mr. Hine, is a fact." (Grenville Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 484.) Mr. Whateley also confirms it with further particulars. (p. 495.) Junius, two days before Lloyd's letter, had announced his discovery to the Duke of Grafton, after a preface *more suo*, or rather, (after the playful fashion in

which a cat dallies with a newly caught mouse,) in the following words:—

"Your cheek turns pale; for a guilty conscience tells you, you are undone. Come forward, thou virtuous Minister, and tell the world by what interest Mr. Hine has been recommended to so extraordinary a mark of his Majesty's favor; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honorable purpose the purchase-money has been applied. Nothing less than many thousands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expenses at Preston. Do you dare to prosecute such a creature as Vaughan, while you are basely setting up the Royal Patronage to auction? Do you complain of an attack on your own honor, while you are selling the favors of the Crown, to raise a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And do you think it possible such enormities should *escape without impeachment*? It is, indeed, highly your interest to maintain the present House of Commons. Having sold the nation to you in gross, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail; for, while they patronize your crimes, they feel for their own."

Whateley speaks of the "great noise" this affair (afterwards avowed and defended,) made at the time. It was all the worse for the affected purity which had just previously induced the Duke of Grafton to prosecute Mr. Vaughan for suggesting the sale to himself of the reversion of a patent in Jamaica, which I believe he was otherwise entitled to.

Be it observed that the "impeachment" threatened in this letter is an echo of Edmund Burke's threat of one against Lord Weymouth for his letter to the Magistrates.

Right well as Junius had labored in the fulfilment of his cousin's intimations of the 14th of November, he had yet to complete it in the matter of the faction termed "the King's friends," whose demolition was to be the basis of a new group of purer Ministerial elements. Junius had never aimed his blows obliquely: they were all *ad jugulum*. Before whom should he arraign the men who basely abused the privileges of royal friendship, but before the King on whose countenance

they existed and on whose authority they infringed? It was on the 19th of December that the most audacious of all the Letters of Junius appeared: remarkable as a masterly, classical composition. He addressed it to "a King." It marshalled all the points on which the Cabinet and the system of secret advisers were vulnerable, together with the conduct of the Sovereign himself, which had been previously insisted on by Burke. Comment would weaken the internal evidence which the following passages afford of the identity not only in matter, but often in expression.

Junius exonerates the King from all "direct, deliberate purpose to invade those original rights of his subjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend;" and assures him that he separates "the amiable, good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government." Wilkes is then introduced: and truly enough Junius says:—

"The destruction of one man has been now for many years the sole object of your Government; and if there can be anything still more disgraceful, we have seen for such an object the utmost influence of the executive power, and every Ministerial artifice, exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless he should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws to which you owe your crown; or unless your Ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of Government in opposition to the people. The lessons he has received from experience, will probably guard him from such excess of folly; and in your Majesty's virtues we find an unquestionable assurance that no illegal violence will be attempted."

The discreditable dilemma to which the King was reduced is first charged on the Ministers:—

"From one false step you have been betrayed into another; and as the cause was unworthy of you, your Ministers were determined that the prudence of the execution should correspond with the wisdom and

dignity of the design. They have reduced you to the necessity of choosing out of a variety of difficulties; to a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, or right without affliction. These worthy servants have undoubtedly given you many singular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciously transferred the question from the rights and interests of one man, to the most important rights and interests of the people; and forced your subjects, from wishing well to the cause of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your Majesty need not doubt that the catastrophe will do no dishonor to the conduct of the piece."

The precipice to which the King was hastening, and the dearth of his resources, should a revolution ensue, are thus forcefully sketched:—

"But if the English people should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs, if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects would you rely for assistance?

In describing the slight hold the King has on each branch of his subjects, the just feelings of an Irishman are thus expressed:—

"The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable Governor you have sent them, because he is the creature of Lord Bute: nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a King with the disgraceful representation of him."

The endeavour to force the Ministers to dissolve was one of the great objects of the petitions which Burke and the Grenvilles got up with so much labor:—

"How easy," says Junius, "how safe and honorable is the path before you. The English nation declare they are grossly injured by their representatives, and solicit your Majesty to exert your lawful prero-

gative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a trust, which they find has been scandalously abused. * * * They alone are injured; and since there is no superior power to which the cause can be referred, they alone ought to determine."

The course Edmund Burke and his colleagues in opposition justly desired the King to take is here put in the plainest terms:—

"You have still an honorable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But, before you subdue their hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little, personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct." * * * "Without consulting your Minister, call together your whole Council. Let it appear to the public, that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a King, and speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgment will be no disgrace, but rather an honor, to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government: that you will give your confidence to no man who does not possess the confidence of your subjects."

Again the King is warned to put no confidence in his "friends."

"Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affection by the vehemence of their expressions! and when they only praise you indifferently, you admire their sincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends whose affections are founded upon a principle of personal attachment. The first foundation of friendship is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received and may be returned."

Now I affirm that the whole of this Letter is the result and embodiment of the gist of the following passage in Edmund Burke's letter to Lord Rockingham, written a few months previously: in which, speaking of the Ministerial indifference to the trials of the people, he expresses this emphatic conviction:—

"What they suffer makes no impression: but I observe them to be much alarmed with whatever is brought directly into the King's presence. Nothing can tend more to bring the whole system into disrepute and disgust with him, than to see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears the effect it has upon the people. His feeling in this manner the ill consequences of the system will, I am persuaded, be the only means of bringing on that *only* change which can do good,—I mean the change of the whole scheme of weak, divided, and dependent administrations." (Correspondence, i. 170.)

XIII.

THE LATER LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

VERY striking coincidences between the Burkes and Junius, are apparent throughout all the remaining Letters. I shall cite only a few of them. I prefer not to exhaust the subject. It will be better that others should make their own discoveries, and arrive at their own convictions. I am content to point to the landmarks which indicate the course, and lead to the haven.

In the whole of the long struggle between Wilkes and the King, the King and the City, and the City and Parliament, (for the Government was only the King's mouthpiece,) Burke and his cousin echoed Junius, or Junius echoed them. Through the whole process of those most discreditable conflicts the alliance was so marked, both as to time, matter, and spirit, that the wonder is, Burke's denial of the authorship obtained the misgiving credit it received.

Take, for instance, his attack on the King's "Horned Cattle" Speech and the Address. He seems to have been at no pains to disguise the identity of his own sentiments, nor in any degree to have affected a milder tone than Junius in stating them. He moved an amendment, and bitterly ridiculed both Speech and Address.

Lord North (who had succeeded the Duke of Grafton) had questioned the discontents of the people, and now stoutly de-

fended himself; and in reply, Edmund Burke attacked Lord North. An "overblown bladder has burst," he said, "and no one has been hurt by the crack." "His ideas were all incoherence and confusion."

Again in the same strain, but in still worse taste, Burke depicts him thus:—

"The Noble Lord who spoke last, after extending his right leg a full yard before his left, rolling his flaming eyes, and moving his ponderous frame, has at length opened his mouth." (Speech of January 9th, 1770.)

Lord North had now become of sufficient importance to attract the notice of Junius. In his Letter of February 14th, 1770, he speaks thus of his appointment:—

"His Majesty is indeed too gracious to insult his subjects, by choosing his first Minister from among the domestics of the Duke of Bedford. That would have been too gross an outrage to the three kingdoms. Their purpose, however, is equally answered by pushing forward *this unhappy figure.*"

Junius also says:—

"The palm of Ministerial firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so himself, with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo.*"

The personalities in each attack are strikingly similar.

There is nothing stronger in Junius than this language of Burke against the Ministry on the same charges:—

"Military executions have been wantonly exercised, and wickedly countenanced; murders have been abetted, and murderers protected, encouraged, and rewarded: public money has been shamefully squandered, and no account given of millions that have been misapplied to the purposes of venality and corruption: obsolete and vexatious claims of the Crown have been revived, with a view to influence the election of members to sit in the House. The majority of one branch of the legislature have arrogantly assumed the power of the whole, and daringly superseded the law of the land by their resolutions; the humble petitions of the people to their Gracious Sovereign refused and discountenanced. The same baneful influence under which this country is

governed, is extended to our fellow-sufferers in America; the Constitutional rights of Englishmen are invaded, and money raised upon the subject without his consent: whole legislative assemblies have been threatened to be seized and brought to England, for crimes supposed to have been committed there: menaces have been used to intimidate the legislature of our provinces in compliance with Ministerial requisitions, which are altogether arbitrary and unjust: etc. And now let me ask the Ministerial hirelings if there are no grievances?*"

Very much in the same style was Junius wont to array wrongs. Here is an example:—

"The same House of Commons, who robbed the constituent body of their right of free election, who presumed to *make* a law under pretence of *declaring* it, who paid our good King's debts, without once inquiring how they were incurred; who gave thanks for repeated murders committed at home, and for national infamy incurred abroad; who screened *Lord Mansfield;* who imprisoned the magistrates of the metropolis for asserting the subject's right to the protection of the laws; who erased a judicial record, and ordered all proceedings in a criminal suit to be suspended."

Again see the speech of Burke on the 2nd of April, 1770, in support of the City Remonstrance, and his comments on the secret influence behind the throne, of which Dowdeswell and Grenville admitted they had felt the effects, with the remarks on the same point in Junius's Letter "to a King," *et passim.*

See also the remarks in Edmund Burke's reply to Lord North in the debate of November 13th, 1770, to this effect, as given in the Parliamentary History:—"As Ministers have frequently made the King—so he frequently makes you (Parliament) the propitiatory sacrifice to atone for his transgressions:" a specimen of effrontery in attacking the Sove-

* Both the Burkes voted in the minority for the amendment. (Ayes, 138; Noes, 254.)

reign in direct terms, of which, I believe, no instances by persons of equal ability, can be found elsewhere than in Burke's Speeches and Junius's Letters.

Junius held the same language:—

"As the matter stands, the Minister, after placing his Sovereign in the most unfavorable light to his subjects, and after attempting to fix the ridicule and odium of his own precipitate measures upon the royal character, leaves him a solitary figure upon the scene, to recal, if he can, or to compensate, by future compliances, for one unhappy demonstration of ill-supported firmness, and ineffectual resentment." * * * "His Majesty will find at last, that this is the sense of his people, and that it is not his interest to support either Ministry or Parliament, at the hazard of a breach with the collective body of his subjects."

Though William Burke spoke but little, when he did it was to give emphatic assent to Edmund's diatribes. Thus on the 8th of May, in the same Session, the latter having moved a string of resolutions on the Ministerial misgovernment of America; William Burke is briefly reported as having "supported every article of the motion in strong terms." When the affair of the Lord Mayor and City Magistrates was in debate, he said, "that no part of the whole business, from the complaint to the judgment, had been conducted wisely or equitably, and I wish the House good night." He, and several other of the most violent members of the opposition, withdrew from the debate, unable to obtain a majority.

By far the larger part of the onslaughts on the Ministry, maintained in these times by Burke, Barré, and other professed gladiators, turned on the City grievances, on the struggles arising out of the affair of the Printers, and the committal of the Mayor and Aldermen to the Tower. The passions of the democratical section of the citizens were fiercely aroused; and the proverb was soon realized, that "they who sow the wind, must reap the whirlwind." Lord Chatham, moreover,

always rampant in any course he took up in his advanced years, had railed at the moderation of Lord Rockingham,* and these popular fermentations did their work. Civic patriotism embodied itself in a new Society, called the "Supporters of the Bill of Rights," under the auspices of Wilkes, and embodied in its code every species of impracticable democracy, greatly to the damage of reform and the Rockinghams. Edmund Burke was too wise in his generation to countenance the violent demands of these turbulent patriots. Before this, according to Walpole, "the Marquis of Rockingham and the Cavendishes had kept aloof from the factious meetings of the opposition." Burke, who had consulted Lord Rockingham on the proper course to suggest to the City patriots, and knew his feelings and moderation, expressed himself thus strongly, in a letter to Shackleton, in August, 1770, against them. He calls them "a rotten subdivision of a faction among ourselves, who have done us infinite mischief by the violence, rashness, and often wickedness of their measures." (Correspondence, i. p. 229.)

The dilemma had now arisen of either exasperating the properly Conservative feeling of the country by an alliance with the City demagogues, or of incurring the hostility of the very people whose importance they had swollen, and whose wrongs they had ridden as a stalking horse against Court

* He wrote thus to Calcraft, "I was in town on Wednesday last: saw Lord Rockingham, and learned nothing more than what I knew before; namely, that the Marquis is an honest and honorable man, but that moderation, moderation, is the burden of the song among the body: for myself, I am resolved to be in earnest for the public, and shall be a *scarecrow of violence* to the gentle warblers of the grove, the moderate Whigs and temperate statesmen." (Chatham's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 469.)

and Cabinet. "Wilkes," as Lord Mahon pungently remarks, "when he ceased to be a martyr, was shunned as an ally." It cost the Whig opposition, nevertheless, much of their power to cut him. Even proud Earl Temple had visited him in gaol. The Burkes had taken him up: especially William, whom he claimed as a friend; for Garrick wishing to introduce a Mr. Aylward to "the intrepid Wilkes," (using to Edmund Burke the very same epithet Junius applied, and which Garrick seems to know, therefore, would not be distasteful, even to Edmund Burke,) sends to William Burke for an introduction. (Correspondence, i. p. 253.) Junius, though he never failed to express a just estimate of Wilkes's vices, had extolled his courage, vastly inflated his chronic vanity, and gratified his yearning for notoriety. He did more, as we shall presently see.

It usually happens that when men with good blood in their veins, and reputations to lose, stoop to fraternize with those who have neither, that be the motive as patriotic as it may, the *mésalliance* leads to grief; and the union thus begun in moral compromise, ends in political disaster.

The demands of the Society grew in extravagance and absurdity: the Rockinghams were disgusted: the friends of the Government rejoiced at the discord in the camp of their foes, and though the battle was still waged gallantly in Parliament, the ardour of the combatants was chilled; the excitement of the country waned; and the security of the Government increased in proportion as the noisy folly of the demagogues damaged the prestige of opposition.

It became requisite in the infancy of this dilemma, to steer dexterously between the Charybdis of open discord with the City patriots, and the shipwreck of reputation which awaited fellowship with their excesses, or assent to their demands.

Junius had, ere this, gone some lengths with Wilkes, and the more rational of the "Bill of Rights" people, ahead of the Rockingham party, in the same degree in which the political impulses and impetuosity of William had exceeded the steadier march of the elder Burke.

On the 8th of September, 1770, Burke writes to Lord Rockingham, saying:—

"They (the Court party) are well acquainted with the difference between the "Bill of Rights" (men) and your Lordship's friends, and they are very insolently rejoiced at it. They respect and fear that wretched knot beyond anything you can readily imagine, and far more than any part or all the other parts of the opposition, the reason is plain, etc. Will. Burke has seen Lord John Cavendish in town. His Lordship is of opinion that some further explanation of the common sentiments of the party would be advisable. Perhaps it may, etc. How well these villains deserve the gallows for their playing the Court game again at this season. The Lord Mayor wishes to see me, I take it for granted it is to know if you would wish anything done in the city. I must beg some immediate advice from your Lordship. The great difficulty will be to prevent the traitors from bringing in speculative questions to supplant our business."

See how well William Burke, as Junius, did this work next year. Observe also how William Burke is usually the informant of Edmund on all Ministerial proceedings.

In August, 1771,—after the committal and release of Crosby and Oliver from the Tower, and when, before the reassembling of Parliament, it was of the utmost importance to drill the City martyrs, so as to array them advantageously against the Government—Junius writes to Wilkes *privately*, a series of Letters worthy of Machiavelli. In these he assures him that it must ever make part of Junius's plan to support him while *he* makes common cause with the people: and that he ought to move to make Sawbridge Lord Mayor: reminds him of the disservice to him which arose from the

withdrawal of gentlemen from the "Bill of Rights," and warns him and Sawbridge of a connection every way hostile to them.

Now Sawbridge was a moderate man, and Junius was right in urging him on Wilkes for Lord Mayor instead of Crosby. He urged it as a matter of political prudence for the benefit of the cause, for the sake of Wilkes's "public reputation and personal interest," and he slily adds—"I do not deny that a stroke like this is above the level of vulgar policy, or that if you were a much less considerable man than you are, it would not suit you." He also suggests that to effect his purpose the Lord Mayor should begin by desiring a private interview between him, Sawbridge, and Wilkes. Now this Mr. Sawbridge is mentioned in one of Edmund Burke's letters to the Marquis of Rockingham, before this, as a person with whom the Duke of Manchester had had a conversation, and as having guessed from him how Lord Chatham was disposed. (Correspondence, i. 241.) Junius having done his best to promote the election of a man confided in by Burke and the opposition, he in a subsequent Letter expresses, precisely as Burke had done, his disgust at the resolutions of the "Bill of Rights" people; whose objects he denounces as absurd and impracticable, and uses Burke's own words to Lord Rockingham in denouncing a "Bill of Rights" resolution as a "speculative question." (Junius, vol. i. p. 282.) He tells Wilkes that he "at least should have shown more temper and prudence and a better knowledge of mankind." He also adds, that "no personal respects whatsoever should have persuaded him to concur in these ridiculous resolutions." In another Letter he threatens, "if no steps are taken with the 'Bill of Rights' to form a rational declaration, to institute an amicable suit against them before the tribunal of the public." In another Letter

he says—"Depend upon it the perpetual union of *Wilkes* and *Mob* does you no service." Junius also holds out as a reward of Wilkes's adoption of his views the charitable expectation of "breaking Horne's heart." In great measure, as regarded Wilkes, Junius was successful: he was alienated from the excesses of his party. There is, I observe, in one of these Letters a mention of Burke.* Junius says he is contented to refer Wilkes to Mr. Burke's opinion, on the proposal to allow the Americans to send representatives to Parliament. Junius ably backed his private remonstrances with Wilkes in his public Letters at the same time. That of the 5th of October, 1771, is so admirable an exposition of the spirit and genius of constitutional reform, as well as so perfect an echo of Burke's opinions, that I cannot refrain from giving an extract. It shall be the last:—

"No man laments, more sincerely than I do, the unhappy differences which have arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other. The cause undoubtedly suffers, as well by the diminution of that strength, which union carries with it, as by the separate loss of personal reputation, which every man sustains, when his character and conduct are frequently held forth in odious or contemptible colors.—These differences are only advantageous to the common enemy of the country. The hearty friends of the cause are provoked and disgusted. * * * * I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country. Yet, though I hope the English Constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchial form, I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican. I do

* I erred therefore in saying in page 16, that there was but one mention of Burke by Junius.

not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot. I mean a general attachment to the commonweal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families;—an implicit submission to the laws only, and an affection to the magistrate, proportioned to the integrity and wisdom with which he distributes justice to his people, and administers their affairs. The present habit of our political body appears to me the very reverse of what it ought to be."

The excellent discretion and temperate policy of these lessons, thus privately and publicly enforced by Junius, were unhappily disregarded by the City: and Junius soon had bitter experience of the hollowness of loud tongued patriotism. "Between ourselves," says he, in a private Letter to Woodfall, very shortly after his last Letter to Wilkes, "let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with patriots."

By February he informs his friend that the Lord Mayor (Mr. Nash) "is an abandoned prostituted idiot," that "the shameful mismanagement which brought him into office" had given Junius "the first and an unconquerable disgust:" and by the following January he discovered that there "were not ten men in the country who would unite and stand together upon any one question, and that it was all alike vile and contemptible."

How many ardent political philanthropists since that day have had rueful experience of the same barren bourn, as the reward of all their generous efforts and aspirations! Thus Junius ceased to write. Lord Rockingham and his friends, towards the close of 1771, "wearied out," as Walpole says, "by continual defeats * * determined to sit still and give over parliamentary opposition." The material for it had, in effect, nearly passed away. The Queen Mother was dying: and with her the influence, real or imaginary, of Bute in the closet. Popular welfare had set in, and the English were at ease. Politics and prosperity are seldom in the ascend-

ant together. Foreign nations had ceased to trouble us. America was quiet for the nonce, and even Spain had restored the Falkland Islands. At home, Sir James Lowther was nonsuited and the Duke of Portland had got his own. The young Duke of Cumberland had indeed married the beautiful enchantress, Mrs. Horton, and—oh! nuts for the Burkes!—there was no concealing that Colonel Luttrell, the Court nominee in the Middlesex election, was indeed her brother, and so the brother-in-law of the King's brother.* But this triumph had been drunk to the dregs. Even Wilkes's wrongs were unfortunately redressed, and that patriot quelled. Civic chivalry had betaken itself to its turtles and doffed its armour, while Burke bewailed to Quaker Shackleton that "after the violent ferment in the nation, a remarkable deadness and vapidity had succeeded."

Junius, having nought to write about, adopted the singularly judicious course, under those circumstances, of ceasing to write at all. It did not therefore require the dramatic discovery of the authorship in Sir Philip Francis, and his expedition to India, to account for this natural enough occurrence of Othello's rest when Othello's occupation was gone. Junius therefore naturally answered the entreaty from Woodfall to renew his labors, by the utterance of that uncivil truth, that "if in the present state of things he were to write again, he must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of the wise Aldermen." (Woodfall's Junius, vol. i. p. 255.)

Burke never seriously denounced Junius: in his celebrated apostrophe on him in the House of Commons, he, in

* Prerogative, and privilege, its eldest son, with all the vices of its rampant father, had gone to rest, and the wicked ceased to trouble.

reality, magnifies and proclaims the prowess of Junius, and the weakness of his prey, under the semblance, but it is only the semblance—of indignant censure :—

"How comes this Junius," he asks, "to have broke through the *cobwebs* of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished, through the land?" [His mention of the Letter to the King is faint blame, more than neutralized by partial approval.] "When I saw his attack on the King; I own, my blood ran cold." [Not, however, for the King's sake; the sequel is significant.]—"I thought *he* (Junius) had ventured too far, and there was an end"—of what? of his infamous career? *No: "of his* TRIUMPHS!"—"not" (he continues,) "that he had not asserted many truths. Yes Sir, there are in that composition many bold truths by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom, with which I was struck." These are the only words Burke ever uttered in condemnation of Junius, which do not admit of another construction: and he immediately atones for them by a peroration of praise. Having depicted the prostration of the House at the feet of Junius, and taunting the Speaker with his small reason to triumph at his share of the encounter, he ends with this undisguised panegyric :—

"King, Lords, and Commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he a member of this House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigor. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad Ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity, nor could promises, nor threats induce him to conceal anything from the public."

Mr. Macknight fails signally in his attempt to rescue Burke from the stigma of this panegyric on Junius. He says :—

"It now appears that Mr. Woodfall's report of this speech is imperfect, that the censure of Junius was alone correctly given, and that the

praise in the subsequent portion of the speech was not intended for this writer, but for the author of *one of the two letters to Almon*, (!) which had been published in the summer, and ascribed to Camden and Dunning. The correction of this misrepresentation was accomplished by Mr. Wright, the editor of the printed Cavendish Reports; and it is not the only dark insinuation against Burke's memory which the publication of those debates has triumphantly dispelled."

Credat Judæus Apella! So Burke applied the whole of the commendatory part of this passage, referring as it did to his Letter "to a King," not to Junius at all, but to one or two obscure letters of some anonymous scribbler; which he interpolated, it seems, for the purpose of praising them! Yet Burke and his friends lived for years, never attempting to deny the accuracy of this report which created great interest at the time, and became an incident in Burke's history. Now Woodfall's careful Editors quoted the whole of the speech, attributed at the time to Burke, forty-three years afterwards, without the expression of a doubt about its authenticity.

It was, it seems, reserved for Mr. Wright, "triumphantly to dispel" the "*dark insinuation!*" There could scarcely be a stronger proof of the untrustworthiness of the "Cavendish Debates."

It would not be possible, I think, for Burke, supposing William Burke to be Junius, to have steered more dexterously between his evident interest at that time of diverting the hurtful suspicion of his authorship of the Letters from himself, without wounding the pride of his cousin,—seeming to condemn, whilst really enhancing the power and fame of Junius.

XIV.

ATTACKS OF JUNIUS ON LORD MANSFIELD.

SURPRISE has been expressed at the absence of sufficient motive for the severe attacks of Junius on Lord Mansfield. They seem to have originated thus:—

On September 23rd, 1770, Edmund Burke writes as follows to the Marquis of Rockingham:—

"His Lordship (Lord Chatham) is earnest that something should be undertaken, but not until the proceedings in Yorkshire are known. It agrees with our idea of taking up the two points of the right of election, and the bringing evil counsellors to justice; but would have something added concerning verdicts and juries. This is, I dare say, by far the most favorite point with Lord Chatham; partly from political views, and partly from his personal animosity to Lord Mansfield. But as the gratification of this animosity and the compassing of those political purposes, are much more his affair than your Lordship's, I did all in my power to possess our friend* with the absolute necessity of declining to engage in any matter of law, however specious, until we should have an opportunity of consulting those of the profession who act with your Lordship." (i. Correspondence, p. 241.)

Lord Rockingham's assent having been apparently obtained, Junius writes his opening attack on the 14th of November, 1770. In this and subsequent Letters he attacked Lord Mansfield on his conduct to the Printers, his endeavour to contract the province of the Jury, his introduction of the

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* The Duke of Manchester.

arbitrary judicial discretion of Equity Courts into his own Common Law Court, and the bailing of Eyre, charged with felony and taken *in flagrante delicto*. These facts were open to animadversion, and Junius and Burke expressed opinions in general, and often in special, accordance on each of them.

On the 9th of November, 1771, there is singular evidence of an additional cause for the hostility of the Burkes against Lord Mansfield: and on that very day it happens that Junius dealt forth privately in his Letter to Wilkes the following fierce threat against him:—"With the help of God I will pull Lord Mansfield to the ground." Also on the same day he writes the brief note to the "Advertiser;" engaging to make good his charge against the Chief Justice, "in order that the House may make it *an article in the impeachment* of the said Lord Chief Justice."* Why this ebullition of ferocity took place on that day is fully explained if—*but only if*—the Burkes and Junius were suddenly under the influence of the same exasperation; for *on the self-same day*, dating "*Fludyer Street*," Edmund Burke writes thus to the Bishop of Chester, on the subject of the charges against him of being Junius:—

"If your Lordship should choose to speak to Lord Mansfield, I wish you would inform him, that though I perfectly despise the attempt of the Court writers to fix upon me *performances to which I am a stranger*," [Mark the convenient vagueness of this:] "as a color for the infamous abuse they throw upon me so systematically; yet I do find myself extremely hurt at perceiving that his Lordship has not thought proper

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* And he afterwards writes to Lord Camden, thus:—"I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that in my judgment, he (Lord M.) is the *very worst* and most dangerous man in the kingdom." He was nothing of the kind; and no one of Junius's acumen could call him so, unless half-mad with rage.

to discountenance the blending a vindication of his character with the most scurrilous attacks upon mine."

The enmities which assailed the Burkes at this time are more than once referred to by Edmund, as being bitter against William, and keenly felt by them both. There is little doubt that they conferred together on Lord Mansfield's conduct, and Dr. Markham's, and then wrote these three Letters under the same impulses at the same time.

Edmund Burke also charges Lord Mansfield with "suffering his vindication to be converted into a vehicle of scandal upon a person who has *hitherto* been, at least, not his enemy."* (Correspondence, i. 270-1.) The Bishop not only refused to deliver this "message," as he termed it, to Lord Mansfield, but, by the reply Burke made in his long letter afterwards, he appears to have reproved him bitterly for sending it, as "ill-conceived and improper." (Idem, p. 284.)

Nothing could have exasperated the Burkes more intensely. Now this fully accounts for the peculiar rancour of Junius's attacks on Lord Mansfield: far exceeding the provocation of his questionable ruling on the trial of Woodfall, or his unquestionable error in bailing Eyre; or of his not very formidable support to Ministerial interests. Can the advo-

* The "Cavendish Debates" are said to contain some denunciations by Burke of Junius's earlier attacks on Lord Mansfield, but which are wholly omitted in Woodfall's reports of Burke's speeches at the time: and which, there is every reason to believe, were either sent by William Burke, or some intimate ally of Edmund Burke, from the flattering terms in which he is always introduced. It is natural enough that William Burke, as Junius, should conceive his animosity to Mansfield before Edmund Burke: since Lord Mansfield's first offence was in the trial of Woodfall for Junius's libel on the King. It was to Burke's interest to preserve outward respect towards Lord Mansfield, were it only out of deference to his then intimate friend, Dr. Markham.

cates of the claims of Sir Philip Francis, Lord George Sackville, Lord Temple, or Lord Lyttelton, adduce equal or sufficient cause for the ferocity of Junius against Lord Mansfield? I think not.

I have now done with proofs drawn from the similarity and identity of the interests and animosities of the Burkes with the writings of Junius. I can honestly affirm that, lengthily and tediously as I fear I have detailed them, I have omitted far more than I have cited. I can also truly state that, up to the moment of writing this passage, I have found no single instance in which the course taken by Junius has been other than that which I should, to the best of my judgment, have expected William Burke to have taken at that time, and under his peculiar circumstances. Leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions from his own researches as well as mine, I am now about to name other facts which, I think, give great collateral support to my conviction respecting the authorship.

XV.

THE STOCK JOBBING OF WILLIAM BURKE.

FREQUENTLY has it occurred to me, and I dare say to others, that no individual could have had a motive strong enough to undergo the intense labor of all Junius's Letters, and the pains he took to drill Wilkes in private, and drub every Ministerial underling, and ferret out their vulnerable points, and those even of their relatives, in order to bring a party favorable to the views of Junius into power,—without some much more pressing reason than attached to any one of the persons yet named as the author.

Added to the very strong political feelings, and, as I think, really genuine patriotism of William Burke, there existed in his case the severe pressure of the *res angustæ domi*. Both he and Richard were, before Junius ceased to write, in money difficulties, which rendered the recovery of an official income—destitute as William was of a profession to fall back on—a pressing necessity. This was the case with no one of the other candidates for the authorship.

During the summer of 1767, sixty members of Parliament were concerned in the funds of the East India Company, and among them was William Burke, who, in the discussions on the Bill introduced in the House to restrain the Company from making dividends, avowed himself a proprietor of East Indian

Stock," and according to Mr. Macknight, "justified the vote he had given in that capacity." On the 19th of August, 1768, Junius writes in his Miscellaneous Letters :—

"The greatest part of my property having been invested in the Funds, I could not help paying some attention to rumours or events, by which my fortune might be affected." Further on, he says, "I owe my thanks to that writer that I am safely *landed* from a troubled ocean of fear and anxiety." (Woodfall's Junius, vol. iii. p. 92.)

Mr. Macknight enables us to link this investment in land, of money made in Stock Jobbing, with William Burke's transactions at the same time.

"Lord Verney and Edmund's two relatives, Richard and William Burke, continued busily speculating in Indian Stock. Richard and William appear to have had a run of good fortune, and at this time could command a considerable sum of ready money."

"Their assistance was probably of much importance to Burke, who, before the new Parliament met, had become a landed proprietor, and had even taken possession of his territorial acquisition." (Vol. i. pp. 291-2.)

Edmund Burke confirms this, and writes in May of the same year to Richard Shackleton thus :—

"I have made a push with all I could collect of my own, and the aid of my friends, to cast a little root in this country. I have purchased a house, with an estate of about 600 acres of land in Bucks. (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 153.)

On the 6th of October following, Junius again reverts to the Funds, and to his own prophecy of "the great fall of the Stocks," which has since happened. This shows that his attention was much turned to the subject.

In 1769, Indian Stock fell sixty per cent., and Mr. Macknight says :—

"In such a storm the fortunes of Richard and William Burke were, doubtless, with those of their associates in the same traffic, tossed helplessly on the waves. Instead of continuing to Edmund the assistance they had before afforded him in making his landed purchase, their

necessities probably required from him the immediate return of all they had before advanced. Burke was certainly at this time compelled to borrow more money. A letter, dated this month of June, 1769, is extant, in which he asks his old friend Garrick for the loan of a thousand pounds." (Macknight, vol. i. p. 384.)

Instances abound of the intimate acquaintance of Junius with the affairs of the "Alley:" and there can be but little doubt that the attacks on Lord Barrington, with which Junius terminated his literary crusade, were mainly provoked by his "placing a little gambling broker at the head of the War Office," who had offended or possibly cheated William Burke, and was brother-in-law to Bradshaw, whom he cordially hated. His Miscellaneous Letter (CV.) of January, 1772, in which he describes a dialogue between this Chamier or "Mr. Shammy," as he calls him, evinces a complete knowledge of the slang of the "Alley."

XVI.

A PLEA FOR THE PERSONALITIES OF JUNIUS.

PEOPLE who are prone to condemn Junius for his personalities should make due allowance for the characteristics of the political arena of his day. So completely had the personal attachments and antipathies of the Monarch permeated the whole of society that, as a necessary result, they debased the gladiatorship alike of Press and Parliament: and "attacks on private character," says Foster in his life of Goldsmith, "were the most liberal source of newspaper income." Writers for the Press were specially appointed for that department. Many periodicals subsisted solely by catering for a depraved taste, thus engendered. Pungent scurrilities and scathing sarcasms alone commanded attention. Mr. Massey, in his "History," depicts nightly scenes even in Parliament, in those days, which would disgrace the mob oratory of Moorfields.

To such license of language the bitterest satire of Junius has no approach in coarseness. It may perhaps be contended that if a writer so elegant and polished as Burke, or any one sharing his inspiration, wrote or revised Junius, it is incredible that personalities, however polished, yet so grossly offensive, could have disfigured his productions. Unhappily it is not so: the tone adopted in debate, even by the great

Burke himself, is a very coarse counterpart of the more matured and chastened diatribes of his literary ally. So much so, that this forms another link in the chain of evidence which identifies the Burkes with Junius. Massey, writing of the debates in 1771, in the very midst of the labors of Junius, says, "Burke then turned round upon Conway, who had spoken against the Printers, though with his usual moderation, and urged by former animosity, assailed him with the fiercest invective." At a somewhat later period, we have ample evidence that the Burkes were quite capable of unjustifiable attacks on personal character as bad as the worst excesses of Junius. It is painful to reproduce the blots on the reputation of men otherwise entitled to imperishable renown: but as the assumption that Burke could not have been guilty of the scurrilities of Junius has been deemed a valid reason for his innocence of all connection with the Letters, it is essential to demolish it. Massey says, in describing the debates of 1774:*—

"But amidst numerous slanderers, whom to name would only be to redeem from the obscurity into which they have sunk, it is painful to record that Burke was among the foremost in this ignoble strife. The years, the philosophy, the decorum which governed his private life, could not restrain this great man from plunging into the excess of party violence, and from using weapons which the most impetuous and profligate of his coadjutors forbore to touch. It was not enough for Burke to assail in unmeasured terms the public character and policy of the Minister, but he must hold up the bodily defects and infirmities of the man—not, indeed, to the ridicule, for with all its faults the prevailing temper of the Assembly has ever been that of gentlemen—but to the disgust of the House of Commons."

William Burke was precisely of that peppery temperament which the Editor of Woodfall's Junius so truly said must be

* History of England, &c. vol. ii. p. 219.

a marked characteristic of a successful claimant to the authorship of Junius. He is reported more than once in Parliamentary history, as dealing in invectives. A witness at the Bar of the House excited his wrath by saying that, when in office, "he (William Burke) knew very well what sort of things were the opinions of Crown lawyers." Upon this he broke out and exclaimed, "We (the House) are in an abject state." On another occasion, he is reported to have "spoken with vehemence" about the mistaken notions of the House respecting their privileges. He said "they had issued their orders and had taken up a chimney sweeper and a milkman whom they forced to attend at the Bar." "Did it enhance their dignity," he asked, "to have the veriest of the rabble, the lowest wretches in God's creation to kneel before them? It was to the last degree absurd. They would soon lose their privileges." Colonel Onslow* replied tartly "that his milkman was of quite as much consequence as some modern patriots," etc., etc.

Questions have often arisen whether Edmund Burke could, consistently with his undoubted political integrity of character, (and as a private friend, honored to the last by the affection and esteem of so thoroughly good a man as Samuel Johnson,) have sanctioned or aided the attacks of Junius.

Let it be remembered, first, that the conduct of the Government in the matter of Wilkes and the Middlesex election was one of the grossest excesses of lawless power perpetrated since the days of Charles Stuart. To corrupt and enslave a Parliament to such an extent as to make it declare a man

* I need scarcely say that Junius detested Onslow, nor that the Member of Parliament and ex-Minister who could thus give the bastinado with his tongue, was perfectly capable of the invectives of Junius, and of more than all his irritability.

duly elected, by its own arbitrary act, who had polled 296 votes, instead of the man who had polled 1193, was sufficient to destroy every vestige of constitutional liberty, if tolerated. This alone goes far to justify Burke and Junius.

It was no small matter which could have induced Sir George Saville or Edmund Burke to declare to the House, as they did, that it had betrayed the country, and to defy it to vindicate its honor by sending them to the Tower; neither would Lord Chatham, when afterwards reviewing the dogged conduct of the "King's friends," in a letter to Earl Temple, have used language such as this upon slight provocation.

"Incomparable is the wrongheadedness and folly of the Court—ignorant how to be four-and-twenty hours in good ground: for they have most ingeniously contrived to be guilty of the rankest *tyranny* in every step taken to assert the *right*. A happy state of the country, but a true one."

Nor was Lord Temple, with his patrician sympathies, a likely person to have echoed mere popular clamour or endorsed the calumnies of demagogues. Nevertheless he visited Wilkes in the King's Bench Prison, and while Junius was still attacking the Ministry, wrote to his brother-in-law of the "incredible imbecility and rashness of the idiot Ministry," and of the "embarrassment and disgrace of the Court." (Grenville Correspondence, iv. 534.) "All ranks of men," writes the Earl of Buckinghamshire to George Grenville, in September, 1769, "except those immediately connected with the Ministers, express their abhorrence of them and their conduct." (Idem, 457.) "Lord Granby," writes Mr. Whateley in December following, "holds a language not at all equivocal: he is eager in opposition and I believe will be firm." It is a pity that he proved otherwise.

Is Junius condemnable for slaying the "small deer," and "insignificant creatures, not worth his generous rage?" Judge them by their masters. Let Lord Macaulay tell how far the members of the Bloomsbury gang were wronged or calumniated by the censor of themselves and their satellites:—

"The Bedfords, or as they were called by their enemies, 'the Bloomsbury gang,' professed to be led by John, Duke of Bedford, but, in truth, led him wherever they chose. Some of them were indeed, to do them justice, men of parts. But here we are afraid eulogy must end. Sandwich and Rigby were able debaters, pleasant boon companions, dexterous intriguers, masters of all the arts of jobbing and electioneering, and both in public and in private, shamelessly immoral." Of Lord Weymouth, he says, "he was indolent and dissolute." (Edinburgh Review, January, 1834.)

"The part of Wedderburn, (writes Lord Chatham to Calcraft,) is deplorable; of Lord Suffolk, pitiable."

Now these, and such as these, were the objects of Junius's worst personalities. When he attacked men like the Marquis of Granby, who were aiding the Ministry more by the countenance of their respectability, than the services of their profligacy, he did so in far more measured terms. Of Lord Granby's early career and character, he speaks with due praise, while he criticises the *degree* of his services, and condemns him, perhaps somewhat too strongly, for nepotism in bestowing patronage, his ignominious juxtaposition with the most venal hirelings of the Government crew, and his vote in favour of Luttrell against the rights of election. All these were public grounds of disparagement, and, I think, valid ones.

Like nearly every public idol, Lord Granby had been overrated, and his latter course of discreditable allegiance to a bad Government, too much overlooked.

I greatly lament the needless severities of Junius: some of his personalities are clearly indefensible. Let us, however, who live in times when the baser atrocities of stealthy slander are rife, deal measured condemnation on a man, who not only confined his attacks to the worst official culprits, but, who proclaimed his charges, and published his anathemas. The accused had, at least, the power of vindicating themselves with similar publicity, and with like effect. To defame at all, is bad enough. Byron, desirous of satirizing with his keenest power "the host delighting to deprave," tells them to "revive forgotten lies, and add their own," but conceives nothing viler in the craft of slander than this:—

"Let no defect—let no misfortune 'scape,
And *print*, if luckily deformed, his shape."

Our slanderers are wiser in their generation, and have greatly improved on Byron's model: they don't print, but whisper their lies. Having assumed a tender solicitude for your welfare, and put on white neckcloths and long faces, they give their tale strength and credit, preserving its falsehood from exposure, by entreating "that it may not be named again." This clever system, and the number of amiable people who religiously believe in the compassionate regard of your candid friend for you, and in the gospel truth of all he tells them, give a power to modern defamation unapproached by the public malignities of the Junius era.

XVII.

THE GREAT PRINCIPLES ADVOCATED BY JUNIUS.

MAY no one fall into a mistake which I grieve to see countenanced by Mr. Massey. After calling the Letters of Junius "compositions of extraordinary merit," he strangely affirms, in the next page, that their only excellence is to be found in the least worthy part of political warfare, namely, personal satire; (Vol. i. p. 364-5.) and also that "when treating public questions, apart from personality, Junius's views are narrow, and his expressions trite." I entirely agree with Junius, and think him fully warranted in his assertion that "when Kings and Ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles, worthy to be transmitted to posterity."

Junius had a busier mission than that of writing panegyrics on principles,—or didactic essays on axiomatic politics. He had not fallen on times in which it was necessary to teach the general public the elements of the Constitution. Bad as were the political perfidies of men in office, and the intrigues of party, the Whig assertors of purity were not then usually addicted to the worst practices of corruption; nor

were their leaders chosen from among the least consistent of statesmen. Principles had not then degenerated into the mere shibboleth of party; the great landmarks were clearly defined; a definite and liberal policy, and a manly and unswerving integrity were embodied in the Rockingham and Grenville parties: and although Junius may be truly said to have furthered to the uttermost his own interests, in battling for theirs, he was not the less taking the only course which consisted with effective patriotism.

Principle, in those days, if not practised, being at least understood, Junius was, in my judgment, right in applying his vast powers rather to the chastisement of wrong-doers, than to theoretical disquisitions on wrongs done. I agree with him moreover, that "though the indulgence of private malice and personal slander should be checked and resisted by every legal means, so a constant examination into the characters and conduct of Ministers and magistrates, should be equally promoted and encouraged." "They," he justly adds, "who conceive that our newspapers are no check on bad men, or the execution of bad measures, know nothing of this country."

Junius, however, was nowise remiss in the declaration, or in the maintenance, of what our historians and statesmen have usually deemed great principles,—whether in politics or social ethics. Aphorisms, such as these, will probably live with the best passages of our best writers:—

—"The submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted."

—"Loyalty in the heart and understanding of an Englishman is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws."

—"Let it be impressed into your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the Press is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman."

—"Let me exhort and conjure you never to suffer an invasion of your Constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by without a determined persevering resistance. One precedent creates another, they soon accumulate, and constitute law: what yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine."

—"Aristocracy is as fatal as democracy. Our Constitution admits of neither."

—"There is no surer sign of a weak head, than a settled depravity of heart. A base action is a disorder of the mind, and next to the folly of doing it, is the folly which defends it."

—"A clear unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. Private credit is wealth—public honor is security."

—"The cold formality of a well repeated lesson is widely distant from the animated expression of the heart."

—"Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven; but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge."

—"Liberal minds are open to conviction—liberal doctrines are capable of improvement.—There are proselytes from atheism, but none from superstition."

—"The injustice done to an individual is sometimes of service to the public. Facts are apt to alarm us more than the most dangerous principles."

—"The fundamental principles of Christianity may still be preserved, though every zealous sectary adheres to his own exclusive doctrine, and pious ecclesiastics make it part of their religion to persecute one another."

—"In the shipwreck of the state, trifles float and are preserved; while everything solid and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost for ever."

—"Let us take mankind *as they are*. Let us distribute the virtues and abilities of individuals, according to the offices they affect: and when they quit the service, let us endeavour to supply their places with better men than we have lost. In this country there are always candidates enough for popular favor. The temple of *fame* is the shortest passage to riches and preferment."

Junius has been often charged with profanity. I greatly lament to find Lord Mahon giving countenance to this really groundless, but terrible charge. He did indiscreetly say that the Bible and Junius would outlive the Commentaries of the Jesuits. The juxtaposition of the Holy Scriptures and human writings is irreverent and wrong: but a single instance of this kind is not ground enough to accuse a man thereupon of profanity. Philo Junius says of this:—"These candid critics never remember any thing he says in honor of our holy religion; though it is true that one of his leading arguments is made to rest *upon the internal evidence which the purest of all religions carries with it.* I quote his words, and conclude from them, that he is a true and hearty Christian in substance, not in ceremony; though possibly he may not agree with my reverend lords the bishops, or with the head of the church, *that prayers are morality, or that kneeling is religion.*"

The political principles involved in the war waged by Junius, are these:—

The rights of election over the arbitrary power of Parliament to annul them:——In *re* Wilkes and the Middlesex Election.

The freedom of Government from the secret influence of Court favorites:——*versus* Lord Bute.

The liberty of the Press, and trial by Jury:——*versus* Lord Mansfield.

The liberty of the Person:——as against General Warrants.

The rights of property against the usurpations of the Crown:——*Nullum Tempus*, and the grant of the Duke of Portland's property to Sir James Lowther.

Due regard to military merit:——*versus* the Ministerial treatment of Sir J. Amherst.

etc., etc., etc.

There was one, and one only blot in the political code of Junius, and which alone defaces his advocacy of Constitutional rights. He spoke tenderly of nomination boroughs. He was startled at the idea of an extensive amputation of them. We must pardon this foible in William Burke, *he not only owed his seat in Parliament to one, but so did Edmund;* and when William tried to gain an open seat, he failed. In any other of the numerous patriots who have been put forward as Junius, such doctrine would have been, of course, unaccountable; in William Burke, it was natural.

XVIII.

DIVERS SMALL PROOFS.

WILLIAM BURKE was in or near London during the whole time that Junius figured in print. On three occasions we are enabled to identify their movements.

On the 13th of August, 1769, Edmund Burke, in a letter to Lord Rockingham, says:—"Will. is just come from Lord Verney's. He has not been at the last Court of the East India Company:" and at the end of the same letter, he says:—"*Will. is going to Town in some hurry:*" so that I have only time to assure your Lordship that I am ever," etc.

There had been no "Junius" for sixteen days, but, dated the very day after Edmund's letter, namely, the 14th of August, 1769, appears one to the "Public Advertiser."* But more noteworthy still, under date of Wednesday evening, August 16th, Junius's private Letter to Woodfall, (No. VII.) begins with these words:—"*I have been some days in the country*, and could not conveniently send for your letter, until this night."

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* It must be remembered that no letters of importance at this period were ever sent by post. All were delivered by other means, owing to the impertinent prying of the post offices. This frequently appears in the correspondence of the day. Junius seems to have sent his by London messengers met in the streets.

On the 6th of November, 1769, Edmund Burke writes to Lord Rockingham, from Beaconsfield, (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 207.) "Will. Burke and I spent the best part of *last week* with Lord Verney," and again, "*Will. takes this to Town*, whither he goes to correct the sheets of Dowdeswell's pamphlet." On November the 8th (two days after), Junius writes privately to Woodfall, (No. XI.) "*I have been out of town these three weeks*, and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it."

On the 9th of July, 1769, Edmund Burke informs Lord Rockingham, that just as he was on the point of writing to him, he "heard from Will. Burke that he had seen Lord Chatham pass by on his return from St. James's," etc. (Correspondence, i. 173.) On the 8th, Junius dates one of his fiercest philippics against the Duke of Grafton, proving that he must have been in London at the time, for his letters were never posted from the country. This Letter has internal evidence of a knowledge of the fact that Burke relates.

Of course these and other coincidences, already named, may be accidental: but can similar ones, or as many, be produced in favor of any other claimant? I doubt it: at any rate it has not been done.

Lord Mahon justly says that "no theories as to the authorship of Junius can be complete or satisfactory which do not supply some adequate explanation of the remarkable anomaly" of Lord Holland's having been "designedly spared" by him. It is easily supplied as regards the Burkes: for they were on intimate terms with the Fox family who hated the Bedfords in common with Burke, and at the very time Junius was attacking the latter, his friend Charles Fox was supplying Edmund Burke with private information about

the Court party. "Charles Fox," Burke writes to Lord Rockingham on the 30th of July, 1769, "called to see me, and I gathered a good deal of the tone they (the courtiers) hold from him. He talks of the Bedfords in his old strain of dislike, etc." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 180.) Again in September, 1770, Burke writes to Lord Rockingham thus:—"Will. Burke has seen Fitzherbert who tells him that Parliament will not meet in November. *Charles Fox* thinks it will." He was then a Lord of the Admiralty.

The Burkes had, however, a far higher motive for sparing Fox. He had spent a portion of the previous summer* with them at Beaconsfield, and Mr. Macknight tells us that "he felt himself irresistibly attracted" to Edmund Burke, whose "commiseration was soon to become active benevolence, and, that under his teaching, Fox was to leave behind, though never to recant, the erroneous opinions of his youth." (Vol. i. p. 378.)

It is satisfactory to me to find there is not an incident or characteristic relied on, by any competent inquirers into the Junius mystery, as probably belonging to the conduct or idiosyncrasy of the real writer, which is not presented by William Burke. According to Woodfall's Editor, Junius must have been "quick, irritable, and impetuous; subject to political prejudices, and strong personal animosities; but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the Constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the Established Church, (he would not otherwise

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* See Works, etc. of Burke. (Vol. i. p. 96.)

have been so warmly befriended by Dr. Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York,) and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession."

According to another commentator, he was an Irishman, or educated in Ireland, and must have been in France. According to Mr. Smith, the Editor of the "Grenville Correspondence," he was a man having no special occupation, and able to give up his time to his epistolary labors, and the collection of information. He adds, that he was very conversant with the affairs of the Stock Exchange, in addition to his fulfillment of all the above-named points.

Junius thus describes his own position in a private Letter to Wilkes, as precisely that of William Burke. He declares himself to be "a man who perhaps has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world."

Junius is stated by some other commentators to have been necessarily a kind-hearted, though a hot-tempered man. Of William Burke's hot temper, instances enough transpired in his Parliamentary career, as we have seen. But I think the proofs are just as abundant of his kind and affectionate disposition. All Burke's correspondents who name him, do so in terms of cordial esteem and love, rarely bestowed on ill-natured men. Dr. Leland mentions him thus: "My most affectionate compliments to my dear William, assure him, etc." again, "I have the liveliest sense of yours and William's friendship." "I thank you," writes Dr. Markham to William Burke himself, "for your affectionate letter," * * "Adieu, my dear Burke, I am most affectionately yours," etc.

Sir George Macartney writes, "I am sure I know of no man more worthy of a seat than him who made so generous a sacrifice of his own pretensions, to the advantage of his friend. Adieu, dear Will! Believe me most sincerely and affectionately, Yours," etc. Lord Charlemont sends "his affectionate compliments to Will." His society was sought for by Lord Verney, Lord Charlemont, Dowdeswell, etc., and though probably Mr. William had no opinion of Garrick, Garrick was ready enough to seek his patronage for his friend, Mr. Aylward.

To Richard Shackleton Edmund Burke writes thus:— "Our friend, Will. Burke, who is indeed truly your friend, will make the party as agreeable to you as he can. He felt a great tenderness at the particular affectionate manner in which you mentioned him in your last letter."

To my mind, far stronger evidence than all these letters put together, is afforded by little John, the son of Dr. Leland, after a visit from William Burke. Dr. Leland says in his next letter, "We divide our affections most equitably among you; only John, the little dog, doats on the remembrance of Will. with particular fondness." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 85.) People to whom children warmly attach themselves are always kind-hearted.

Another proof of the amiability of William Burke's disposition is afforded by Lord Fitzwilliam, who says in a note in the Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 179:—

"He" (William Burke,) "accompanied Lord Cornwallis, by whom he was much beloved, in most of his campaigns in that country." "From his agreeable manners and general information, his company was much sought after:" he adds at the same time—

"Having rather a turn for expense, he neglected those opportunities of making a fortune, which his long employment in India afforded."

This easy and good-natured manner, when in society, must have powerfully assisted in diverting suspicion from William Burke, of being the terrible Thersites.

Mr. Peter Burke mentions the following singular fact:—

"Dyer* was very intimate with Mr. Burke and his family. When Dyer died in 1772, the Letters of Junius ceased; but what was even more strange, was this fact, related by Sir Joshua Reynolds, one of Dyer's executors. The moment Dyer was dead, Edmund Burke's cousin, William Burke, went to the deceased's lodgings, and there seized and destroyed a large quantity of manuscript. Reynolds happening to come in, found the room covered with the papers, cut up into minutest fragments, there being no fire in the grate. Reynolds expressed some surprise, and Mr. William Burke hurriedly explained that "the papers were of great importance to himself, and of none to anybody else." Mrs. Burke once admitted that she believed her husband knew the author of the Letters, but that he did not write them." (Public and Domestic Life of Edmund Burke, by Peter Burke, Esq., p. 68.)

What were these mysterious papers? Did William Burke employ an amanuensis, and was it Dyer? or more likely still, did Dyer, being in the secret, employ one for him, and were these papers so anxiously destroyed by William Burke, the remnants of the drafts of these famous Letters?

That Junius, be he who he might, could have written the volumes which passed from his into the hands of many printers, and could have uniformly maintained a handwriting so clear, neat, quiet, and perfectly uniform,† and in a character so unlike whatever was his own as never to have led

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* Samuel Dyer, F.R.S. I should be glad to see his handwriting.

† It was very peculiar. The tops of the letters are sharp and compressed: the lower parts are free, and very symmetrically formed parabolic curves, or sweeps, whereby the distances are regularly preserved. The pen was often taken off in the middle of words.

to detection,—he being clearly a man of mark,—I for one, do not believe. If he was his own amanuensis, in the first place, he wrote a hand utterly dissimilar from his character, and unless there was no human being he could trust with his secret, surely exercised a very strange discretion.

That Junius was "the sole depository of his own secret," I believe just as little. That he was capable of lying, is proved by his own request that Woodfall should tell a lie for him. That he did this, is incontestable: for it remains in black and white in the private Letter he wrote to Woodfall, on the 10th of September, 1769. (Vol. i. p. 199.) Now this Letter is the more remarkable as proof of my position, for it is prefaced by this admission:—"The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to *contradict*, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly, than not at all." He then suggests that Woodfall should announce that he had "some reason to suspect that the last Letter signed 'Junius,' was not written by the real Junius," and this he asked Woodfall to do, who had no reason to suspect anything of the kind, but who knew it to be Junius's own Letter.

The reason why Junius said he was the sole depository of his own secret, was to baffle and discourage inquiry. From the moment that bitter hostility assailed Burke on the ground of the suspicion that he was Junius, it was obvious that Burke's interest, and the chances of advancement, alike for him and William Burke, were dashed to the ground, unless they could effectually avert it. Now the author, be he who he might, was certain of being killed on discovery: the wrath against him was at length rabid, and on November 10th, 1771, Junius writes to Woodfall in terror lest he should be

detected, declaring that he "should not survive the discovery three days," that he is to change the direction of his letters, and "let no mortal know the alteration." The cause of this is obvious; it was the very month in which Charles Townshend and the Bishop of Chester were pressing the suspicions of the town on both the Burkes, and urging from Edmund the reluctant disclaimer he gave after a second demand from Townshend, and not then, "till he had twice consulted his pillow." Why a man should twice consult his pillow, if he had not done what he wished to deny, it is not easy to say. If he were desirous of giving an evasive answer to half of the inquiry, it is easy enough; and that was just what Edmund Burke did wish to do. Moreover, it is recorded by Mr. Peter Burke, that "it is certain that on one occasion Edmund Burke himself acknowledged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he knew who was the writer of Junius's Letters." (Burke's Life of Burke, p. 68.)

It is the greatest possible proof of moral cowardice to tell a lie. But under the circumstances in which the Burkes were placed,—their fortunes and their very lives depending on it,—what are the chances that they would be less likely than Sir Walter Scott to tell the same lie, when instead of calamities, fame and honor awaited his telling the truth? If Scott denied that he was the author of "Waverley," when he was the author; *a fortiori* Burke might deny that he *knew* the author of Junius, when he did know it. I am persuaded that the Burkes all knew it; and that Dyer knew it also, and that he assisted, for he was a member of the same club, lived on terms of great intimacy with the Burkes, and as a scholar must have been most useful to William Burke in correcting the Irish-English, which both he and Edmund constantly perpetrated in their private letters, and of which some speci-

mens occasionally appear even in the studied Letters of Junius.

It was stated by Sir James Mackintosh to my informant, —a gentleman who was present at table with him—that "he was convinced that Junius was the production *of a clique* though, possibly, Francis held the pen, but that he, Sir James, detected *Burkisms in the style.*"

It was said by Junius to Woodfall, in the Letter of November 10th, 1771, that he feared that if discovered, they would "attaint him by bill." This would apply to his *status*, though not to that of Francis.

I have often thought that though William Burke (Junius) always wrote to Woodfall as a man of money means before his losses in the funds, he probably ultimately received aid from Woodfall (more than once offered.) Did he procure an advance on mortgage? If so, it is possible that the fact of the gentleman named in the private Letter of Junius, January 18th, 1772, (Vol. i. p. 245.) "*transacting* the *conveyancing* part of our correspondence;" and that Woodfall's subsequent adoption of a motto of his own in the "Advertiser," for Junius's attention, "*Dic quibus in terris*,"—might have referred to such money transactions, and not as generally supposed, to the carriage of letters, which was not customarily described as "conveyancing," or a "transaction."

Most of the facts so soon known to Junius were easily within the knowledge of William Burke. For instance, his speedy information that Garrick had been to Richmond, to let the King know that Junius would write no more. Why Garrick avows that he told his acquaintances, and William

Burke was one of them. It is singular that Junius, with his strong sympathies for "the brave Irish people," should have written so little about Ireland, and its numberless oppressions by the very race of statesmen he was concerned in assailing. Edmund Burke explains this to the Bishop of Chester:—"They (Richard and William) know little or nothing of Irish history." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 337.)

There is not, I believe, in the whole of Junius, a man assailed of whom Edmund Burke thought well: and there are few of those he was known to condemn as actively hostile to his party, who are not assailed by Junius.

Edmund Burke says to the Bishop of Chester:—

"I attacked Lord Barrington: I did so, and let me add, I attacked Lord Weymouth as much as him; and I attacked Lord Hillsborough as much as either, though on another ground. But I did this in a regular, sober, constitutional manner." (Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 306.)

This shows that Burke himself was far from desiring to screen the proofs of the marked identity of his hostilities with those of Junius, however he may have shrunk from fathering his personalities.*

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* Having been enabled to refer to the "Cavendish Debates," since Chapter XIII. went to press, I may here name that they afford no ground whatever for applying Burke's panegyric on Junius to the writer of a letter to "Almon," though they omit to insert it. It happens, however, that these Debates even more strongly represent Burke as palliating, if not approving, the Letter to the King. Speaking last of a libel, in the "*North Briton*," Burke is reported to have said:—"Compare those times with the present. What is it that has wrought so great a change in the temper and disposition of the people, that they now countenance the most audacious, the most wicked libels? Will

As a proof of the extreme part which William Burke took in the Opposition, I may mention the part taken by him in the contest of the House of Commons with the House of Lords, in April, 1771. He brought up the report of the Committee on the Lords sending down Bills by improper messengers, which was appointed to inquire into the precedents with respect to such messages. A motion having been then made to send the Bills back to the Lords, it was negatived; Mr. Dyson (who is attacked by Junius,) then moved a milder message. To this, an amendment was moved to the effect that "the House could not proceed on the above message." This was lost by a majority of 105 to 55, William Burke being the first teller for the *Yeas:* which shows that he moved the amendment against Dyson.

A letter apparently written by Junius, but bearing the initials "W. B." for signature, is inserted as a note by Woodfall's Editor, at page 291, vol. ii. It is appended to a letter of Horne, dated 31st of July, 1771, and explains a reference to a note in Wilkes's Clarendon. It bears date after Horne's letter in the "Advertiser." It is introduced by the Editor abruptly, and without any other comment upon

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any one compare the matter of *that* libel, [meaning the North Briton's] with the Letter to the King? Sir, when I heard it first, [it seems to have been read to him,] my blood ran chill and cold, *not from the falseness of the facts*, but from the boldness and audacity of the writer. This libel has been produced in a court of justice; but *such was the feeling of the Jury when it came before them*, that they refused to the Attorney General, the laws, they refused to *the King, any justice*. They thought that more mischief would be occasioned by finding that publication a libel, *than from the assertions it contained*." (Cavendish Debates, November 27th, 1770, vol. ii. p. 106.)

it than this,—"The Letter is short, [meaning this one in which Horne is charged with stealing his idea from Wilkes,] and as it also explains a subsequent fact, it ought not to be omitted."

The style is exactly that of Junius in his undress, and adopted by him as Philo-Junius. Here are the neat, idiomatic expressions, and racy contrast of images:—

"Mr. Horne when he invents, should be careful not to give absurd fictions. I am acquainted both with Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Horne. It is amusing to observe how the parson has, on a variety of occasions, purloined from the alderman!" (Woodfall's Junius, vol. ii. p. 292.)

In "Notes and Queries," vol. ix. p. 74, (new series), January 28th, 1854, "Mr. Metcalf, of Delhi, says that he thinks he possesses the 8vo. copy of Junius, 'vellum bound in gilt,' Junius, 1772, 2 vols., which Junius ordered of Woodfall."

"This copy (he says in an interesting letter) has been in the family library for about sixty years. I imagine it must have been purchased by my grandfather, Sir Thomas Metcalfe, after his arrival from India, about 1788, this is merely a conjecture, in default of any more probable theory. Of the authenticity of this copy I have no doubt: I mean that it is now in the same condition as when it first issued from the bookseller. The binding is evidently of an old date, The gilding is peculiar, and the books correspond exactly with the order of Junius as given to Woodfall; and although neatly bound, are as Woodfall mentions in No. LXIV. not highly finished. It is quite possible that my grandfather possessed this copy some years before his return from India."

My readers will not have forgotten that William Burke was twice in India; the second time, with Lord Cornwallis.

XIX.

THE CASE FOR FRANCIS AND OTHERS.

ONE of the favorite reliances of those who support the belief that Francis was Junius, is that of the letter of Lady Francis published and apparently believed in by Lord Campbell, in his Life of Loughborough.* Her Ladyship begins with a very just doubt whether she "has a right to betray what Sir Philip never would have confessed, and which she could only have obtained the conviction of from his confidence in her *discretion* which made him lay aside with her that guard over himself, etc." If this were so, he seems by her own showing to have very much misplaced his confidence: the more so since her Ladyship "believes that the secret of his attachment and marriage (to her) so late in life" was that "like the *wife* (!) of Midas he wanted some one to whisper his secret to, *and I was his reed.*" The simile is apt. The secret and its fate are strikingly alike: Lord Campbell enacting the zephyrs. It is fortunate however for the reputation of the husband, that he never did confide the secret to her which this discreet wife is so anxious to divulge. For she presently admits that "though she never had a shadow of a doubt," etc. "*he never avowed himself,* more than saying he knew what *my* opinion was, and never contradicting it." Sir Francis was a polite husband.

* Lives of the Chancellors, vol. viii. p. 211. Fourth Edition.

Lady Francis's reasons for her suspicions seem to consist in "his having told her circumstances that none but Junius could know." Seeing that if William Burke were he, and that William and Francis were friends,* this is not wonderful. She, however, lets it escape her, that on Francis being asked whether he thought *Burke* was the writer, Francis replied, "Faith very likely," and he then explained how Burke's answer to the same inquiry was an evasion. She also omits to state that Francis invariably and indignantly denied the authorship every time it was mentioned in his presence: and I have somewhere read that Woodfall also denied that Francis could be the author.

Seeing that some of the men abused by Junius were, like Chatham, the best friends of Francis, it is strange that any one having a regard for his memory, should seek to prove his title to literary fame, acquired, if at all, by acts of indelible baseness to his benefactors. Of Lord Chatham, his earliest patron, Francis, in 1787, says:—"How warmly I was attached to his person, and how grateful I have been to his memory, they who know me, know."

Of Lord Chatham, Junius says at the very time (1767) when Lord Chatham was befriending Francis,—"To Lord Chatham we owe the greatest part of our national debt. . . . . I cannot bear to see so much incense offered to an idol who so little deserves it." Again, "the Earl of Chatham and his miserable understrappers deserve nothing but contempt." And again, in 1768, he says, "His infirmities have forced him into a retirement, where he is ready to suffer, with a sullen submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepit, worn-out old man."

* When William Burke went to India, it was to Francis that he went for aid, and Francis received him into his house.

To Welbore Ellis, Francis avowedly owed his place in the War Office; and to Calcraft, after his death, a legacy of £1000, and an annuity to Mrs. Francis. Junius characterised one as "That little mannikin Ellis." "The most contemptible little piece of machinery in the whole kingdom." "Welbore Ellis, what say you? Speak out, Grildrig!" (Junius, May 28th, 1771.)

Of Calcraft he speaks thus—"What though he riots in the plunder of the army, and has only determined to be a patriot when he could not be a Peer."

Now, Junius wrote this on the 5th of Oct. 1771, whilst Francis was still at the War Office, which he did not leave until March 20th, 1772, and whilst Calcraft was endeavouring to get Francis a far higher appointment, as he well knew at the time; and but a very few months before he settled on Francis and his first wife a munificent bequest.

At the time that the bitterest of the attacks of Junius were levelled at the benefactors of Francis, he was suffering under no sort of grievance, real or imagined. It was not till Junius had almost ceased to write—in 1772—that he was wronged at all. Up to then he held a very lucrative clerkship in the War Office; and not till March 23rd, in that year, is it that Junius says, in one of the latest of his Letters:—"I think that the public has a right to call on Mr. D'Oyley and Mr. Francis to declare their reasons for quitting the War Office. Men of their unblemished character do not resign *lucrative* employments without some sufficient reasons." (Woodfall's Junius, iii. 445.)

Sir Philip always passed for a vain man, but I never heard proof of baseness in him capable of that causeless malice against his best friends, of which his widow assures us.

Here I should have left the matter, referring the unsatisfied reader to the demolition of the Franciscan case in the "Quarterly Review" of Dec. 1851, vol. xc; and to the able articles in the "Athenæum" published shortly afterwards; but the great names and authority of Lords Mahon and Macaulay deter me from ignoring their opinions, which I regret to find, support the case against Francis.

Lord Macaulay says, in a letter to Mr. Murray, dated Jan. 3rd, 1852:—

"It seems to me too that one half of the arguments of the Reviewer is answered by the other half. First, we are told that Francis did not write the Letters, because it would have been singularly infamous in him to write them. Then, we are told that he did not write them because he did not own them. Surely this reasoning does not hang well together. Is it strange that a very proud man should not confess what would disgrace him? I have always believed that Francis kept silence because he was well known to have received great benefits from persons whom he had, as *Junius*, or as *Veteran*, abused with great malignity."

The advocates of the case against Francis who happen to hold both positions are no doubt impaled on one or the other of the horns of this dilemma. But how does Lord Macaulay answer the first of these assertions, namely that Francis, not being base, was incapable of singular baseness? He simply affirms his belief that he was thus base. And he asserts also that the case rests "on coincidences such as would be sufficient to convict a murderer." I confess I am of a different opinion, and having read them all, am confident that no jury could safely convict on them for petty larceny. I will instance one or two as examples. "Junius shows an intimate knowledge of the Luttrell family. Francis, up to ten years of age, lived near Luttrell town." I have thought it too insignificant a fact to mention the long residence of

Burke in the same county. "Francis went to India with a good appointment, soon after Junius ceased to write." "Junius must have been unstable and impetuous: Sir Philip Francis gave some reason to believe he possessed a kindred spirit." "The man who threw a Junius into Woodfall's was tall and thin, so was Francis." "Francis used many expressions which Junius used." So he did *after* Junius had printed them, and so did many others. "He wrote a handwriting very like Junius's." General Lee wrote one still more like, and so can any draughtsman who tries to imitate it. "Francis, being (a clerk) in a public office, had means of official information." Not the tenth part of the various means William Burke possessed. "He had, probably, antipathies against some of the people Junius abused." Nothing approaching to them. "Francis was absent from England from May, 1772, to about January, 1773, whilst Junius was silent and is presumed to have disappeared. Francis was also going to India when the motto was used, *Dic quibus in terris*, which might indicate these travels, etc., etc." The following is perhaps one of the most amusing of any of these pieces of "evidence." It is from "Junius Identified." Francis, Taylor says, had been making preparations for his journey, or *perhaps* visiting his father at *Bath*. "These conjectures," he adds, "receive countenance from the fact that Junius was silent from the time he informed us of the expulsion of Sir Philip Francis, (March 23rd,) until the 5th of May, and on the 12th of that month Junius says he has "just returned from a certain part of *Berkshire*." The evidence here is rather too minute for ordinary perception. If there be any, I presume that as William Burke was frequently at Beaconsfield, which is near to Berkshire, while Bath is not, it makes more in favor of the case for William Burke, than Sir Philip.

It is imprudent in the advocates of the Francis claim to refer us to the chronology of the case. The Quarterly Reviewer thus conclusively sums up the facts under that head:—

"When Francis was employed and grateful, Junius was most energetic in his attempts to damage the Government; when Francis was idle and discontented, Junius was silent."

Lord Mahon, after naming the sparing of Lord Holland and Charles Fox by Junius, says that by no other theory than that of the authorship of Francis, is the "explanation" of this "anomaly," "so clear and plain," Lord Holland having been the early patron, both of his father and himself." (Mahon's History, vol. v. p. xxxiv.) This argument might avail, were it not evident that if Francis were Junius, he had no scruple in attacking his greatest benefactors: that being so, it has no weight whatever.

The point made against Francis, that he must have known that Draper took no oath when he received his pension is, I admit, disposed of by Lord Macaulay's remark that Francis need not have known it, since it was omitted only in the case of Irish pensions. As regards William Burke, it was, however, a still more natural mistake, as he was in no War Office.

This leads me, however, to mention a point which is strong against the claim for Francis, and in favor of that for William Burke. I am indebted for it to the Quarterly Reviewer.

"Mr. Taylor, in the course of his researches, discovered the following paragraph in the 'Public Advertiser' of January 10th, 1772, which he correctly attributes to the pen of Junius."

This passage occurs in it:—

"The Secretary's place, being therefore a mere clerkship of four hundred pounds a year, could neither in advantage nor honor be worth holding to a man in the station and circumstances of a gentleman."

Francis was a vain man, and would never have thus spoken of an office to which he aspired, and which was above that which he held and called "a place of great trust." William Burke, on the contrary, having been a Minister of State, was just in the position to regard all clerkships *de haut en bas*.

His Lordship also cites similarities of phrase between Junius and the speech of Lord Chatham, which Francis reported. But how does this afford the least atom of proof that Francis was Junius? May not Lord Chatham have used the terms of Junius in expressing the same feelings? And may not Francis have copied them, whether Chatham used them or not?* Of this there *is* some evidence: namely, that if the words referred to, but not cited, by Lord Mahon were apt and emphatic, they were *not* Francis's. Of this I will give some degree of proof in the next chapter.

When Francis was a youth of twenty there is strong presumptive evidence that Junius was exercising the full vigor of his remarkably virile powers as a writer. "The letter to an Honorable Brigadier General," published in 1760, is very evidently by the same hand, as Mr. N. W. Simons, who discovered and edited it in 1841, satisfactorily shows. In

* I used the term "the dignity of labor" about six years ago at a Birmingham Conference; (deriving it from that of "dignity of revenge" used by Junius,) and as far as I know for the first time. It has been used by a thousand people since. Supposing I had used it anonymously, would such adoption of it by others, or of fifty such published expressions of mine, go to prove any of these people to be me?

I cannot admit that if Francis did leave "Junius Identified" sealed up and directed to his wife in a bureau, it was either necessarily intended as a "posthumous present," or any proof that he wrote Junius if it were. It is quite possible that some one else placed it there.

his Letters, Junius speaks of himself more than once as a man of "long experience of the world:" nor is there wanting ample proof that he was such: and therefore very greatly senior to Francis.

It is quite impossible that Francis, as a young clerk, had the acquaintances or sources of information which Junius required, and William Burke had in abundance. Neither did any one dream of imputing the authorship to him till long after the Letters had ceased. Let it not, moreover, be forgotten that Junius had declared his intention of ceasing to write before he did so, and some months before Francis quitted the War Office. There was therefore no connection whatever between those events.

Thus it is amply proved that Francis had neither the experience, the associates, the information, nor the motives of Junius; all of which are essential to the proof of the authorship; and I will presently endeavour to show that neither had he the requisite capacity.

Lord Lyttelton had, perhaps, the ability to write Junius: but he had no sufficiently powerful inducement, or passionate motive, to sustain so varied and intense a labor for five long years. The case for, or against * him, in the "Quarterly Review," though highly ingenious, has been amply confuted in the "Athenæum." The claim for Lord Temple has, if possible, all the weakness of all the other cases, without their adherents. Few people could read Mr. Smith's elaborate essay in its favor, prefixed to the third volume of the "Grenville Correspondence," which he ably edited, without arriving, I think, at that conclusion. No man of Lord Tem-

* These are synonymous terms in this application of them, as Lord Macaulay also held.

ple's *status* and temperament would have made the war Junius did, on clerks, and people like Bradshaw; or, if he did, would he have descended to the same details about them and their relatives. That Lord George Sackville should taunt himself with that charge of cowardice which was the sting of his life, or that Horne should blacken himself with the charge of apostasy, and declare that his merits were mentioned only to "aggravate his guilt," and as being "incapable of the liberal resentment of a gentleman," is incredible. Nor are clergymen prone, whether it be true of them or not, to proclaim themselves to the world as possessed of "the vindictive malice of monks, brooding over the infirmities of their friends." Horne had no access to the facts or the official peculiarities known to William Burke.

Seeing the strange excesses of unlikelihood over which the investigators of the Junius mystery have usually driven headlong,—blind to every fact and probability lying around them,—one ceases to wonder at the ninety years' failure to discover him.*

The other claimants are well disposed of by Woodfall's Editor and the "Athenæum."

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* This failure is in some degree attributable to an undue weight being given to similarities of handwriting. Mr. William Woodfall, in a letter dated August 9th, 1799, to the "European Magazine" for that month, says:—"I believe I may safely assert that every one of Junius's Letters was shown to me in manuscript by my brother previous to publication, *and no one of them ever bore the appearance of being written in a disguised hand.*" There is scarcely a doubt that Junius employed an amanuensis. Whenever I can obtain a sight of a certain packet of Burke Correspondence, I may throw light on this.

XX.

STYLE OF JUNIUS, AND CONCLUSION.

HOWEVER strongly bits of sentences or hosts of words used by other writers, may coincide with some used by Junius, I confess, that except in Burke's own writings, and some few of his speeches, I have failed, in the whole of my reading, to find any style like his. The attempts made to hold up that of Francis as his, are sufficiently curious to make it worth while to give them a little notice, as illustrations of the universal truth of Tristram Shandy's doctrine, touching hypotheses.*

I will now place some of the best passages from Francis, in juxtaposition with a few from Junius, in order to afford a ready means of arriving at a judgment. As masters of style have declared their conviction that Francis wrote Junius, it is not for me to say that the compositions of the former are unworthy of being compared with the latter, and that the contrast is ludicrous; but I may, I hope, be permitted to criticise the performances of Francis.

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* "It is in the nature of an hypothesis, when once a man has conceived it, that it assimilates everything to itself as proper nourishment: and from the first moment of your begetting it, it generally grows the stronger by everything you see, hear, read, or understand. This is of great use."

JUNIUS.

"The reputation of these papers is an honorable pledge for my attachment to the people." * *

"If an honest, and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service, has given me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you, never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, howe ver minute," etc.

"On this side, then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You may determine to support the very Ministry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable situation," etc.

*"I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration."

FRANCIS.

"I believe no man living will seriously attribute to me the character of a determined *and inveterate* adversary of the British nation. It is well known to every man in India, that if Mr. Wheler's advice and mine, for these three years past had been regarded, or, if our unremitted efforts had availed anything, this Government would not have *been* in the distressing situation to which it *is* reduced by a *series of other measures*, adopted and pursued in opposition to our sentiments. But I have done with controversy. I shall give the Board no further trouble on this question, nor perhaps on any other." (From Minute of Sir P. Francis, on India.)

This feeble twaddle of Francis is put forth by Mr. Taylor, the author of "Junius Identified," as a picked specimen of the *similarity* between Junius and Francis.

In the whole of Junius, there is not such a misjoinder of adjectives as "determined" and "inveterate," the second

* This paragraph only is selected by Mr. Taylor. I have chosen the others as expressing, in some measure, similar ideas: but as Junius was not in the habit of praising himself, I have found none strictly parallel. Compare the extreme neatness and pungency of his expressions with the floundering verbiage of poor Sir Francis.

rendering the first wholly needless. Such an unwieldy awkward sentence as that which follows, would surely disgrace a boy in the second form at a good grammar school. Mark also the use of the past tense, "have been," instead of "be" in the clause beginning, "this Government." Imagine Junius, moreover, terminating a long sentence where its point and brilliance always culminate, with such wretched slip-slop as a "distressing situation to which it is reduced by a series of *other measures* adopted and pursued *in opposition to our sentiments.*" One of the proofs on which this claimant for Francis relies, consists in Francis having used the words, "*but I have done* with controversy, and I shall give the Board *no further trouble* on this question, *nor perhaps, on any other.*

And this he thinks *strikingly similar* with the conclusion in Junius's private Letter! "I am weary," etc. The words "deplorable situation," and "distressing situation," are similar also: Francis having read them over and over again, has not improbably borrowed this, and much more from Junius: but the borrowings remind one sadly of Æsop's daw. Comment on such similarities as these, by way of proof, is quite needless.

The best sentence Francis is known to have ever written, is ungrammatical. It is this:—

"The loss of a single life in a popular tumult, excites individual tenderness, and pity. No tears are shed for nations. When the provinces are scourged to the bone by a mercenary and merciless military power, and every drop of *its* blood and substance extorted from *it* by the edicts of a royal council, the case seems very tolerable to those who are not involved in it."

What is the antecedent to the word "its?" Grammatically, "the military power:" but he does not mean

that, but the blood and treasure of the provinces. Junius never made these blunders. See also the ponderous platitudes in the sequel:—

"When thousands after thousands are dragooned out of their country for the sake of their religion, [what does he mean by persecuting a religion for *the sake of it*?] or sent to row in the galleys for selling salt against law,—when the liberty of every individual is at the mercy of every prostitute, pimp, or parasite, that *has access to the hand of power*, or to any of its basest substitutes,—my mind, I own, is *not at once prepared to be* satisfied with gentle palliatives for such disorders. *Why? Because, you say, it is not natural that it should.*"

Francis had frequent recourse to the puerile trick of alliteratives, a weakness to which Junius rarely, if ever, descended. But what shall we say of the vapid tameness and weakness of the end of each sentence? Francis seems to exhaust his small stock of strength at the beginning, and fall helplessly into conclusions both lame and impotent. Observe the remarkable converse in Junius. It is a characteristic of his style to give the utmost force to the climax. You never gather a notion of the wonderful power of his sentences till you arrive at the last words. Here are instances culled as they came:—

—"Neither the abject submission of deserting his post in the hour of danger, or even the sacred shield of cowardice, should protect him. I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal."

—"The Prætorian bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had still strength enough to awe the Roman populace; but when the distant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire."

—"Good men can hardly believe the fact. Wise men are unable to account for it. Religious men find exercise for their faith, and make it the last effort of their piety, not to repine against Providence."

—"Good faith and folly have so long been received as synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities."

—"That he is the king of a free people, is indeed his greatest glory. That he may long continue the king of a free people, is a second wish that animates my heart. The first is, that the people may be free."

The calm language used, the sole reliance on the intrinsic strength of the thoughts, and their admirable arrangement, constitute a feature in the style of Junius, which it is scarcely too much to call inimitable.

Compare it with the clatter of words in the sentence used even by Lord Temple, whom Mr. Smith declares to have been Junius! Here are passages he selects to prove it for their alleged similarity of style:—

Lord Temple says:—

"And when the obstinacy of unhappy Princes, enslaved with *(sic)* the notions of arbitrary power, which they called prerogative, left no other option but to submit to the usurpation of the Crown, or to fight, *they drew their swords, and Heaven to which they appealed*, propitious to English liberty, justified their cause and crowned it with success."

See how simply Junius puts this:—

"My Lord, you should not encourage *these appeals to Heaven*. The pious prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that, at last, the people also found it necessary *to appeal to Heaven* in their turn." (Junius, vol. i. p. 458.)

Junius was never verbose or magniloquent: no writer who was, could have so completely purified his style as to write these Letters. These traits are unalterable characteristics,—literary types, by which men are easily distinguished. As a snob is known by superlatives in dress, so is a bad writer by big words. They who can write effectually, write quietly; and never indulge in noisy sentences.

William Burke has left, as far as I can yet ascertain, scarcely any avowed writings behind him. Having been known as a great writer in his time, as I have already shown,

(p. 6.) and of "*keen satires*," it is of itself some evidence of his authorship of Junius, that he should have destroyed the means of identifying him by the style of his satire. Is there any other writer "so well qualified to wield his pen," as Prior records,—of such "ingenuity and sharpness" in "party papers," according to Walpole,—and of such "great accomplishments," as Sir Denis Le Marchant testifies,—who has left nothing behind him?* If his power of writing "party papers" satirically and powerfully be thus attested, I have only to show that he could also write with that remarkable plainness and precision of language,† which pervade the Letters of Junius. I extract the following from his few official documents left at the State Paper Office:—

In a letter to Mr. Barnaby, our Minister at Berne, dated the 16th of December, 1766, William Burke begins thus:—

"I should have answered your letter sooner but that I waited for the result of the enquiries General Conway ordered to be made on the points contained in your Memorial, and I am now to acquaint you that on the strictest search it is found that it has been an invariable rule never to give presents to Ministers who are ordered to depart without taking a formal leave, and as it appears by Lord Harrington's to you of the 30th June, 1741, that you *was (sic)* directed to do so, the General thinks he cannot make a demand of this sort in your favor."

In another letter dated "Park Place, 22d. April, 1766," he writes thus to Samuel Garbett, Esq. of Birmingham:—

"General Conway received your letter as I had others, relative to the elopement of the Manufacturers,"‡ etc. "I take the liberty of advising

* Almost the only relic is, his *Translation* of Brissot's Address in Burke's Works, which affords no evidence whatever of style.

† The errors are such as Burke and the best writers of the time commonly made, and from which Junius is nowise free.

‡ They were supposed by Mr. Garbett to have gone to Sweden.

you to address yourself on these occasions to my friend Mr. Stonehewer: he is a gentleman of great worth, extreme good understanding, and of the politest manners, so that you may always depend on having any business you may commit to him done to your satisfaction: and the attention the Duke of Grafton has already given to all the instances he has been made acquainted with of the runaway Manufacturers, is an assurance that he thinks that an affair not to be slighted."

In many of the prominent features of Burke's style there is that similarity to Junius which might be expected from the long habit of literary association, which had subsisted between himself and his cousin,—working in close companionship, as Burke's description of their life at Monmouth and Turlaine, shows they did. How much or how little Burke might have done in the way of revision or emendation it is impossible to say; but that he abstained wholly from both is in the highest degree improbable. There are in the frequent and peculiar use of similes a very strong resemblance between Burke and Junius. The power of invective possessed by each—the peculiar use and frequent recurrence of thesis and antithesis—and the quiet strength of the climax which crowns each sentence in Junius are all remarkably observable in the following magnificent passage in Burke's Letter to a noble Lord, when attacked by the then Duke of Bedford, because of his pension, while deeply afflicted by the loss of his son Richard:—

"The Revolution (of France) seems to have extended even to the constitution of the mind of man. It has this of wonderful in it, that it resembles what Lord Verulam says of the operations of nature: it was perfect, not only in its elements and principles, but in all its members and its organs from the very beginning. The moral scheme of France furnishes the only pattern ever known, which, they who admire, will *instantly* resemble. It is, indeed, an inexhaustible repertory of one kind of examples. In my wretched condition, though hardly to be classed with the living, I am not safe from them. They have tigers

to fall upon animated strength. They have hyenas to prey upon carcases. The national menagerie is collected by the first physiologists of the time; and it is defective in no description of savage nature. * *

They have so determined a hatred to all privileged orders, that they deny even to the departed the sad immunities of the grave. They are not wholly without an object. Their turpitude purveys to their malice; and they unplumb the dead for bullets to assassinate the living." * * *

"In one thing, I can excuse the Duke of Bedford for his attack upon me, and my mortuary pension. He cannot readily comprehend the transaction he condemns. What I have obtained was the fruit of no bargain; the production of no intrigue; the result of no compromise, the effect of no solicitation. The first suggestion of it never came from me, mediately or immediately, to His Majesty, or any of his Ministers. It was long known that the instant my engagements would permit it, and before the heaviest of all calamities had for ever condemned me to obscurity and sorrow, I had resolved on a total retreat. I had executed that design. I was entirely out of the way of serving or of hurting any statesman, or any party, when the Ministers so generously and so nobly carried into effect the spontaneous bounty of the Crown. Both descriptions have acted as became them. When I could no longer serve them, the Ministers have considered my situation. When I could no longer hurt them, the revolutionists have trampled on my infirmity. My gratitude, I trust, is equal to the manner in which the benefit was conferred. It came to me indeed, at a time of life, and in a state of mind and body, in which no circumstance of fortune could afford me real pleasure. But this was no fault in the royal donor, or in his Ministers, who were pleased, in acknowledging the merits of an invalid servant of the public, to assuage the sorrows of a desolate old man."

Notwithstanding Burke's faults, it is impossible to reflect on his disinterested career, his devotion to the best interests of his country, and his unswerving fidelity to that statesman who united the highest integrity with the purest aims, without an esteem equal to the admiration which Burke's vast intellect has ever commanded. I do not believe that he

wrote Junius: but I rejoice in the conviction that his relative did. To him, none of the basenesses attach, which the authorship would have fixed on most other men. Neither do I regret that the honor of this renowned literary achievement and resolute resistance to political despotism and the worst arts of bad government is due to IRELAND—thus adding another of the laurels of civil patriotism, to the glorious trophies of her military fame.

I hope that I have now shown that William Burke had the various capacities, the peculiar information, and the personal motives which could alone have empowered and incited the author of Junius.

I have shown that he united the warmth, alike of animosity and affection, which Junius is admitted to have possessed. It has been proved that William Burke was acquainted with the routine and proceedings of official life, and that he kept up when out of office such remarkable intercourse with people still in office, that it was greatly through him, that not only Burke, but Lord Rockingham, was informed of their manœuvres. When Grenville's private secretary gathers information from him, he relates it "as above the common level of discourse." I have shown that he was in a rank of society, and esteemed in it,* fully equivalent to the sources of information possessed by Junius; and yet of a grade, associations, and habits, not too high to admit of his ready access to the gossip which Junius too frequently retailed.†

I have shown not only how faithfully the Letters of Junius did the work of Burke, and how precisely their rancour against each individual in office tallied with the antipathies of the struggling statesman—but how, where it stooped to

* His portrait is in the gallery at Milton.

† He was also constantly in the Houses of Parliament.

lower prey, the victims, like Bradshaw, were the especial objects of William Burke's dislike, and the very men who filled the offices he craved to have.

It has appeared how Junius's desire to oust the whole Ministry, and reinstate the friends of William Burke in power, grew in vehemence as William Burke's fortunes waned, and office became less his political ambition, than a pecuniary necessity. It has been shown that the tendencies of Junius were good: that his exclamation to Woodfall,—"I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy,"—spoke the genius of his mind; and that William Burke was a man of virtuous impulses, generous in sympathy and kind of heart; so that they who knew him best, loved him best.

I have now concluded my task. If I have not solved the long-lived mystery, I am pretty sure that no one else has, and there is no discredit in my failure: while there has been, to me, at least, much profit and instruction in the attempt. Though it may be slighted by some, and condemned by others, I would fain hope, that by many, I shall be thought warranted in believing that, at least, there was "a case for the Jury;" and I shall be more than satisfied if that Jury thinks it worthy of a "patient consideration."

If I am found to have succeeded, I claim small merit for success. I have given to the work little other labor than that of a journeyman carpenter. I have but joined and dovetailed my materials. These lay around me in heaps, perplexingly abundant: and though many that came to hand were rejected as useless, none as being cross-grained, or adverse to my object. I think, that to this fact, more than any other, I attribute my conviction that I have hit

upon the right man; and that the more deeply abler inquirers follow in my track, the more will it appear to be the true one.

I cannot close this little book without expressing my cordial thanks to Peter Burke, Esq., Alfred Cox, Esq., the Rev. John Emeris, James Francillon, Esq., J. Garrard, Esq., the Rev. C. Hardwicke, the Rev. Dr. Maitland, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Secretary Waddington, Sir Francis Palgrave, the Rev. J. C. Rowlatt, W. N. Sainsbury, Esq., and Lord Lyttelton, for their kind aid, afforded none the less willingly because all, except the last, were unaware of the object of my inquiry.

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APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF WILLIAM BURKE TO SIR P. FRANCIS, DATED DECEMBER 14TH, 1778; FOUND IN JUNE, 1859, AMONG THE PAPERS OF EDMUND BURKE BY THE EARL FITZWILLIAM.

"It is so common an effect of vanity to impute to its own efforts the incidents that succeed, because they are luckily timed, that I can't help wishing you to give me a little credit for the somewhat fair and somewhat favorable light that the poor King of Tanjore's cause is now seen in. He does not ask that this country should adopt his cause in preference to that of the Nabob, or of any other person. He only requests that, agreeably to reason and really to their own interest, and to the uniform style of the Company's instructions, an equal hand should be held between him and his neighbour; and that the Presidency should not, as they have hitherto constantly done, take the Nabob's assertions as facts, his complaints as proved offences, or his demands as liquidated accounts. In a word, that, leaving the character of agents, they preserve their rank, and act as mediators.

"I beg your pardon for this sort of involuntary vent of what my heart is full of. I am indeed in some measure bound to mention that I am sensible of the attention Lord North has given to the representations I have taken the liberty of making him; and indeed I believe it was the first time in his life that he was apprized that the King of Tanjore did not wear horns, and walk on cloven feet."

That this is Junius writing a chatty letter in his slippers, few would deny who are well acquainted with the criteria of style and the idiosyncrasies of Junius. It is, of course, difficult to find surviving writings *not* anonymous, by a man whose whole skill and *metier* were that of a writer whose power and very existence depended on his concealment; but as good critics have admitted that my proofs of William Burke's authorship, aided by Edmund, are defective only in this respect, I am endeavouring, not without success, to supply this evidence.

65, *Cornhill, London, May*, 1859.

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